P.H-19

S. NATARAJAN

A History of the Press in India

ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS LIMITED

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A Tribute to

KAMAKSHI NATARAJAN

whose long service to the nation
was rendered in the cause of journalism
and social reform

Contents

Introduction

THE "History of the Press in India" Exhibition, which the Audit Bureau of Circulations sponsored and organised in 1958-59, as part of its decennial celebrations, was a success beyond all expectations. For the first time, there was shown in India a systematic visual portrayal of the growth of the Press; and the souvenir issued on the occasion sketched in bold strokes the strains and stresses which the newspaper world had suffered and overcome in India. It was an Exhibition into which a great deal of effort and co-operation had gone, much planning and indeed much enthusiastic execution. Among many others who contributed to the success of the Exhibition, Mr. Edward J. Fielden, the then Chairman of the Bureau, stood out as its guiding spirit, visualiser and untiring organiser. The impact of the Exhibition on the public mind was most encouraging. The success of the Exhibition, for the Audit Bureau, lay in its rousing the public to a true appreciation of what the newspaper as an institution was and what it meant to them.

From this arose a desire to sponsor a history of the Press in India which would do in a different way what the Exhibition had done. As the project was formed, it was hoped to be a study of the growth of the Press, the obstacles it had encountered in the process and the traits that it had developed, not only as a medium for news dissemination, but, also as a purveyor of advertising service. Such an history called for both objectivity and keen interest in the subject; it had to tell the story of the Press as well as reflect the changing life of the people. It was with this object that the work was entrusted to Mr. S. Natarajan, and the present publication is the result. We hope that the reader will find the effort useful and rewarding.

R. V. LEYDEN
Chairman,
Audit Bureau of Circulations Ltd.

Bombay,
26 *April* 1962

Acknowledgments

WHEN the Audit Bureau of Circulations asked me if I would write a history of the Press in India, I readily agreed. The subject, to my mind, is closely associated with Social Reform, a history of which I had just completed; the period was strikingly identical, and, while I had been actively connected with Journalism for over thirty years, just then I was in a position to consider the Indian Press from the outside. Moreover, I had become interested through R. Hardcastle of Bomas and Edward J. Fielden of J. Walter Thompson in aspects of journalism other than that connected with the editorial —specially as a medium of communication. The idea appealed to me and I undertook the writing of the history.

In my work, I have been helped considerably by the Librarians of the Bombay University Library, the National Library at Calcutta, the Library of the Asiatic Society, and the Libraries of the United States Information Service and the British Council. To R. Hawkins of the Oxford University Press, who had several suggestions to offer on the manuscript, the reader owes much for a vastly improved book; and Miss K. Natarajan did the tedious work of indexing.

Though their approach was from entirely different angles, S. C. Sanial's articles on journalism in the *Calcutta Review*, Mrs. Barnes' pioneering work, *The Indian Press*, and J. Natarajan's *History of Indian Journalism* are invaluable reference works.

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PART ONE

Seed-Time

CHAPTER I

The Background

> The Europeans were a new element in the never-ending conflicts between kings and chieftains and warlords, concluding alliances, offering assistance and protection, demanding submission as the exigencies of commerce and monopoly directed them. Their stability and continuity of purpose, the wide sweep of their activities, were imposing. They were valuable friends in an armed conflict. As they were indifferent to the ambitions which divided the Asiatics, they introduced a new phenomenon—the ally who could be bought or enticed with promise of profit, not of power.
>
> —H. J. VAN MOOK

THE history of journalism is closely linked to the development of the printing press and the growth of communications. The Chinese, credited generally with being pioneers in using movable types, were also the first to manufacture paper. It was no coincidence then that the oldest continuing "newspaper" was the court gazette at Peiping which disappeared in the early twentieth century. The art of printing from negative reliefs was known in China around 594 A.D. and from there spread along the caravan routes to the West where taking impressions from wooden blocks became quite common. Somewhere between 868 A.D. and 1045 A.D., the Chinese developed movable type.

Four centuries later Johann Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg, a Mainz goldsmith, developed movable type in Strasbourg. The "invention" was being experimented on in Avignon, Bruges and Bologna about the same time and significantly there was at least one other goldsmith attempting it. For goldsmiths had always cut punches for their trade marks and for the lettering they used for striking inscriptions on cups and bells. Gutenberg also invented a suitable ink for the metal types which replaced the wooden blocks and in the Rhenish winepress he found an instrument useful for compressing and flattening printing paper. The early printers followed the prevailing style of the scribes, for the simple reason that the reading public was familiar with it.

Thus the invention of printing did not revolutionise the production of books. Individual patrons valued the manuscript book and often despised the printed product. In fact, it was the art of the book-binder which won over connoisseurs to the printed book. The educated urban classes provided the best markets, and printing presses sprang up at all the flourishing centres of international trade. Patronage came in from governments and churches, specially from the monastic orders. The Jesuits, for instance, brought the first printing press into India in 1550. Though presses were imported in the next 120 years, the work they turned out was the printing of religious books in Portuguese and in Tamil or Malayalam. The printing presses which were brought in by the East India Company, during the years 1674 to 1753, were neglected. It has been suggested that vested interest in the calligraphists employed by the Mughal Court was a barrier to the development of printing. It is more probable that disturbed conditions in the country prevented the growth of so essentially peaceful a profession as printing.

The international character of the modern newspaper begins in Europe in the middle of the sixteenth century. We first see the handwritten "newsletters" of trading houses appearing as "news-books." These carried political and economic intelligence and were published by enterprising printers as of general interest. In 1560, serially numbered news-sheets testify to continuity, if not regularity, of publication in some German and Swiss towns, and in 1609 two news-sheets—the *Avisa* from Germany and the *Relations* from Strasbourg—satisfy the requirement of regularity. From Germany and Switzerland, the influence spread to the Dutch. From 1618, we see regular weekly publications from Amsterdam in English and French as well as in Dutch and German.

Beginning with reprinting the Dutch "corantos," English printers around 1621 developed their own characteristics, predominant among them being closer ties between editors and readers, better display and more attention to national sentiment. Though regularity of production was still to be achieved, the news-sheet was on its way to displace the pamphlet and the news-book. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the weekly publication had established itself, and in 1702 the first daily made its appearance in England. In the U.S.A., the first newspaper appeared as a weekly in Boston in 1704, though at least one earlier attempt had been made in 1690 which ended with the first issue. The first American daily newspaper

appeared in 1783, in Pennsylvania. Long before this time, however, both in England and in America the Press had made itself felt as a powerful force, the weekly newspapers being used with telling effect.

There are two points worth making here. During the reign of the first Stuarts, the Star Chamber made a clean sweep of all critics. Milton's famous defence of freedom of expression was uttered in 1644 when the Press had yet to make itself felt. Less than ten years later, he was functioning under Cromwell as an official censor himself. In the U.S.A., the fiercest declarations for the freedom of the Press were made before the Press in America attained its strength. Official restraint, regulation, suppression and persecution in both countries manifested themselves in the early infancy of the Press. The argument for freedom of expression, therefore, was developed before the Press became a power. It was basically an appeal for tolerance of criticism. Secondly, the growth of the influence of newspapers was helped by the weakness of the government or differences in the ruling class. The combination of strength and tolerance in a government is a rare phenomenon. It does not necessarily follow that a weak government tolerates the Press.

The newspaper, as we know it, is primarily concerned with today. "As stale as yesterday's newspaper" is a proverbial phrase with which we are all familiar. The newspaper is so much a part of our daily life that we assume there must always have been something like it in the past. And considerable ingenuity has been shown in tracing similarities between the modern newspaper and older manifestations of the written word. The proclamations of governments, the reports of spies on which rulers depended, the writers maintained by Mughal rulers to keep them informed of the doings of governors in provinces, even the exchange of gossip at the market place or round the village well—all these have been mentioned as serving the role of the Press. Considerable confusion has been caused by applying the term, "the Press," to the communications of official news-writers who at the Mughal Court also occupied ministerial posts.

Aurangzeb is credited with having allowed considerable freedom to the "Press" because he allowed one writer to criticise his grandson. What this proves is doubtful, considering Aurangzeb's general attitude to members of his family. Under the personal rule of the

Mughals, provincial governors were favourites when the Emperor was weak, heirs or claimants to the imperial throne when the Emperor was insecure, and able commanders when the Emperor was strong. The news-writers had every reason in any case to keep on the good side of the governors unless they knew definitely the exact temper and inclination of the Emperor and were in effect his agents.

The Portuguese, the first Europeans to arrive in India, established themselves in Goa fifteen years before Babur, founder of the Mughal empire, set himself up at Delhi. They adopted from the first a policy of securing political power in India. In 1506, Francesco de Almeida installed himself at Cochin as "Viceroy of the Indies"; in 1510 Affonso de Albuquerque established himself at Goa more modestly as "Captain-General and Governor of India." With the blessings of the Papacy, they set about making converts and they used the printing presses they imported into India to reprint catechisms. To the conflicts they provoked by these policies were added troubles in Portugal itself and the opposition of the Protestant Dutch and English. The Dutch who were the pioneers of the news-sheet in Europe, were essentially traders in India and in any case they considered India but as a stepping-stone to the "spice islands." They seem to have created a problem for the English by offering extravagant sums to the Mughal Emperor for trading rights as their foothold in India became weak, thus sending up the price of trading licences.

The English up to 1773 ran the East India Company as a company of traders. Licence to trade was tied up with service to the Company. The fixed salaries were very small and no servant could keep himself without private trading. The system was economical which is all that can be said in its favour. The Company was not quite satisfied but it was not prepared to pay the price for greater devotion. The Company's servants came out young, boys of fifteen to eighteen years of age, and they very often came to escape from trouble at home. The few of them who survived the weather and the hazards of life in the settlements, returned fabulously rich to England.

Of the relations that prevailed with the Mughal ruler, his viceroy and other officials and the indigenous rulers, it is not necessary to say a great deal. Until the Battle of Plassey (1757), the English were one among the European and indigenous powers struggling for position. After it, they began by nominating the Viceroys and

passed on to nominating the Mughal Emperor. Even in assuming the role of representative of the Emperor to keep a check over the Viceroy, the Company refrained from functioning as the civil authority which the Dewani was; it only accepted the rights and duties of revenue collector. Clive at one time favoured the Crown taking over the sovereignty of the Company's territories but he changed over to resolute opposition to direct government. To the political unrest in India was added the uncertainty of the policies of the Directors of the East India Company in London; nor was opinion among the leading English personalities in India united. There was considerable dissatisfaction which was to turn into open warfare in the Council during Warren Hastings' Governor-Generalship. The Company in India was more anxious to keep its affairs hidden from its London Directors. There was as much intriguing in London and a great deal of concern at the thought that, while the Company's revenues were frittered away in adventures and excursions, the servants of the Company were enriching themselves in India. Many of them retired after their service and used their wealth to purchase seats in the House of Commons. Their influence in English politics was strong enough to evoke adverse comment. The "Nabobs," as they were called, were widely execrated.

And the newspaper in England had grown to be a real power in public life. The strength of the Press in England and Scotland arose from the organisation of radical opinion against the corruption of the Court, the domination of the Crown's placemen and pensioners and the political perversions of the "rotten boroughs." The radical movement was primarily a practical reform movement to which later an idealistic and humanitarian content was added as opinion in the urban centres was moved by political developments in America (1763-83) and in France (1789). It was difficult to deal with a Press which had strong support behind it, when the government itself lacked the sanction of public opinion. The embarrassments experienced by the home government made the Company's servants very suspicious of newspapers and resentful of criticism, even though at the outset the Press was run exclusively by Britons for the European community and no newspaper had a circulation over a few hundreds. Nevertheless, the newspaper after a couple of fitful starts took root in India, drawing its strength from the power of the Press in England until such time as it could rest more securely on Indian opinion.

The newspaper, however, needed more than a printing press. Its growth in Europe had been facilitated by the Reformation which brought the regional languages into prominence and extended the area of literacy beyond the few churchmen and scholars who knew Latin. In India, education had fallen on evil days. The time-honoured centres of learning had become centres of cant, given to a system of so-called education which merely consisted of memorising sacred texts. "With the secular as well as the sacerdotal classes, bread and butter," writes Dr. P. K. Sen, "had become the aim and object of education, suited only for worldly preferment. . . . Urdu was still the court language, and for those who required a further qualification for employment in the public service a smattering of Persian and Arabic was deemed a *sine qua non*. The Maktabs and Madarssahs were, therefore, in great request; but were not utilised for acquiring any but the most superficial knowledge." In Calcutta there was some local interest in learning enough spoken English to act as interpreters. Madras was very much better off with the administration and the indigenous governments cooperating fully with missionaries, from as early as 1620. Even in Madras, however, education was not very general, and Madras was certainly unique in the Company's territories. Leicester Stanhope writing in 1823 observed:

> The system of education all over the world was framed after the model of the Hindu schools. When Sir William Jones visited Madras, one Andrew Ross, a merchant, took him to a village school in the neighbourhood of the Presidency. The great man was immediately struck with the simplicity, the economy and utility of this system of education. His remarks made a strong impression on the good merchant who afterwards, I believe, persuaded Dr. Bell to establish at Madras the Male Asylum of which Andrew Ross was a Director.

The Madras Government, however, was not tolerant of newspapers and there was little encouragement for journalistic effort. In Bengal and the rest of India, English teaching was late to come and what indigenous schools there were were not very satisfactory. With the Marquess of Hastings the Company assumed direct responsibility for the government of India, ceasing to rule in the name of the Mughal. Between 1813 and 1835, three things were

accomplished: English education was accepted as proper for India; missionaries were to be licensed by the Company; and the foundations of an independent merchant community were laid. The Serampore missionaries to start with and, following shortly after, Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the Brahmo leaders developed the Indian languages.

Other facilities like railways, postal service and transmission of messages grew between 1830 and 1870. Transmission by semaphores, started in 1830, was succeded by the telegraph in 1855. The opening of the Suez Canal and the development of steam navigation shortened the distance between India and Europe—a journey which took anything between three and eighteen months. But these were all to come. In the eighteenth century, reports of parliamentary proceedings reached India fitfully and were classed as seditious literature; William Bolts at the outset of the story is accused of supplying extracts of parliamentary papers to Siraj-ud-doulah, and as late as 1830 there are official objections to reprinting parliamentary reports. Communication between the different presidencies was not easy, and a system of exchanging newspapers was introduced to keep the three presidency governments in touch.

CHAPTER II

The Forerunners

> The dominions in Asia, like the distant Roman provinces, during the decline of that empire, have been abandoned, as lawful prey, to every species of peculators; insomuch that many of the servants of the Company after exhibiting such scenes of barbarity as can scarcely be paralleled in the history of any country, have returned to England loaded with wealth; where, entrenching themselves in borough or East-India stock influence, they have set justice at defiance, either in the cause of their country or of oppressed innocence.
>
> —WILLIAM BOLTS

IN September 1768, the following notice was found affixed to the Council Hall and other public places at Calcutta:

To the Public

> Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the public that the want of a printing press in this city being of a great disadvantage in business and making extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community, as is of importance to every British subject, he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the business of printing, to manage a press, the types and utensils of which he can produce. In the meantime, he begs leave to inform the public that having in manuscript things to communicate, which most intimately concern every individual, any person who may be induced by curiosity or other more laudable motives, will be permitted at Mr. Bolt's house to read or take copies of the same. A person will give due attendance at the hours of from ten to twelve any morning.

Those who read it, before the Council took it down, must have been puzzled by its appearance among the general notices and advertisements. It was fairly common knowledge that Mr. Bolts, ex-servant of the East India Company and alderman or judge of

the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, was about to be deported. A ship had been detained in port to carry Mr. Bolts back and the Captain of the vessel was vexed on both sides by the Council's pressure and the intimidations of Mr. Bolts. Nor was there any indication how Mr. Bolts proposed in the very few days left to him to get together a printing press. At any rate, Mr. Bolts was forcibly removed to the boat and taken away from India and nothing came of his offer.

The central figure in this drama, William Bolts, was a remarkable individual even for those times which abounded in adventurers. A Dutchman by birth, he had, at the age at which the English East India Company recruited its writers, joined a British merchant house in London. Later he had gone to Lisbon where he worked in an English business house. Losing his all in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, Bolts applied for a factor's post in the Company. The Bengal service had suffered serious depletion as a result of the hostilities around Calcutta. Bolts was selected as the last of ten factors. Coming out to India, he applied himself to the study of Bengali—an unusual choice since the Company's servants were satisfied to gain a smattering of Persian or Hindustani. His undoubted abilities were turned to the acquiring of a fortune (£90,000) by private trade in collaboration with two members of the Bengal Council, John Johnstone and William Hayes.

In the eight years after Plassey (1757), there were four revolutions in Bengal accompanied at each installation of a new Nawab or Viceroy by presents to the Company, the Company's members of Council, and the servants of the Company. As the influence of the English increased and the influence of indigenous rulers waned, the Mughal Emperor's *firman* was reinterpreted to cover internal trade as well as external trade. The Company, the Company's servants, the Company's servants' servants and, in fact, anyone with a trading pass signed by an Englishman traded without paying duty. In a protest to the President and his Council, the harassed Nawab of Bengal, Mir Cassim, complained:

> Setting up the colours of the Company, and showing the passes of the Company, your gentlemen use their utmost endeavours to oppress the peasants, merchants and other people of the country.... In every village and in every factory, they buy and sell salt, betel-nut, rice, straw, bamboo, fish, gunnies, ginger, sugar, tobacco,

> opium, and many other things. . . . They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the peasants and merchants for a fourth part of their value and by ways of violence and oppression they oblige the peasants to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee; and for the sake of five rupees they bind and disgrace a man who pays a hundred rupees in land tax; and they allow not any authority to any of my servants.

Warren Hastings, still a junior servant in the Company, supports this in a letter to President Vansittart:

> This evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our servants alone but is practised all over the country by persons falsely assuming the habit of our sepoys or calling themselves our agents.

The Council, however, insisted on a monopoly of internal trade. The Directors in London when they were in possession of all the facts disapproved of the policy but by then the situation in Bengal had developed beyond redemption.

Bolts made the most of the opportunity, using his influence with the Council to intimidate the Nawab and his agents. His activities extended all over the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and various attempts on the part of the Company to impose restraint on him were defied. He fell out with other servants of the Company and earned the censure of the Bengal Council and the disapproval of the Directors at London repeatedly. Nevertheless, he had enough influence with the Council to secure the appointment of Alderman or judge of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, an office which conferred on him a statutory right for life. This was, strangely enough, during the very time he was under suspension of service. He was involved too in political intrigues with the Nawab and suspected of dealing with the Dutch. On being deported, he published in two heavy volumes a bitter denunciation of the Company's administration in Bengal, ruined Verelst, an ex-Governor, by litigation, and established rival factories in the East Indies in the service of the Imperial Austrian Government. Vague references to "Count Bolts" imply that he received this title from the Holy Roman Empire. His political and business ventures, however, failed to achieve success, and Bolts fades out of the picture into obscurity.

For a period of 12 years there is no attempt again to start a newspaper in Bengal. Bolts' books in England were published between 1772 and 1775. It is interesting to note the suggestion of Bolts' biographer, N. L. Hallward, that Philip Francis had a hand in Bolts' campaign against the East India Company. Francis came to India in 1774 as a member of the newly formed Council to the Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings. Philip Francis is a mysterious figure. He was a competent civil servant but he was also close enough to the development of the Press in England for his name to be associated some forty years later with the authorship of the "Letters of Junius" which were stirring the muddy politics of the day. His securing the appointment in India at the early age of 33 has itself created considerable bewilderment. On the one hand, it is suggested that his experience as a bureaucrat in England was expected to make good the deficiencies of the decorative figures of his two military colleagues. On the other, it is hinted that certain persons who wanted to silence Junius, resorted to the expedient of sending Francis to the insalubrious climate of Calcutta. Whatever the facts, he came and formed a formidable opposition to Hastings. When he left Bengal in 1780, the first Indian newspaper had made its appearance. It was only after Francis had made his decision to leave India that Hastings acted against James Augustus Hicky the editor of the *Bengal Gazette*. An interesting fact is that Hicky never once wrote against Francis. This has been interpreted to mean that Francis knew how to secure the silence of critics. This is far-fetched.

If he was Junius, Francis who had managed to escape identification or even suspicion in England may well have repeated the achievement in India. Had it been remotely felt then that Francis was Junius, it is possible that a closer connection between the relentless enemy of Warren Hastings and the journalistic efforts of Hicky may have been established. No one thought Hicky capable of writing as he did or even of such malicious writing. Certainly Hicky received information from dissatisfied servants of the Company. And Philip Francis, in the last year of his membership on the Governor-General's Council, was not only a most dissatisfied man, but one who knew very well how to wield the new weapon of the Press. It is a significant commentary on the conditions prevailing then in the British community in India and on the more central position occupied by Francis in it that, if he was suspected of instigating Hicky, he was not involved in the trial.

James Augustus Hicky at any rate was the proprietor of the *Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser*, the first newspaper to be published in India. The first issue appeared on Saturday, January 29, 1780, announcing itself as "A weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by none." Much of its pages were devoted to advertisements. It was a two sheet paper, about 12 inches by 8 inches, with three columns printed on both sides. It published extracts from the English newspapers, and correspondence from local and distant writers. Its special features were addresses to the public from Mr. Hicky, a "Poet's Corner," and all the local gossip relating to the British community in Calcutta. For the first few months, the *Gazette* was politically harmless, though it tended after the fashion of the times to a broad humour. Its public was mainly the merchants and traders, and at first the non-official European class. There was opposition from officials not only in Bengal from the very outset; many of them feared that the newspaper would at an early date turn to attacks on them. But Warren Hastings seems to have been fairly tolerant.

Reports that another newspaper was being planned and that the subscribers of *Hicky's Gazette* were being approached, provoked the intemperate wrath of Hicky who applied himself to vilifying everyone who was suspected of promoting the rival venture. In June 1780, Hicky appeals to his supporters not to desert him for the new paper. Possibly the appearance of the *India Gazette*, four pages, each 16 inches long with three columns and well-printed, infuriated Hicky and drove him to desperate measures to meet competition. His venom is directed first to the Swedish missionary, John Zachariah Kiernander, who is suspected of selling types to the rival; to the two proprietors of the *India Gazette*, Peter Reed, salt agent, and B. Messinck, theatrical producer; and to a Simeon Droze whom he suspects of canvassing for the rival production.

The grant of postal facilities to the *India Gazette* which were not allowed to *Hicky's Gazette* excited H'cky to explain to his readers that undue influence had been exerted on Warren Hastings through Mrs. Hastings; that the same privileges could have been his had he approached Mrs. Hastings as he had been advised to do; that Mrs. Hastings had hinted her willingness to oblige but Hicky had refused to do it. "There was something so sneaking and treacherous in going clandestinely to fawn and take advantage of a good-natured

woman to draw her into a promise to getting that done which I knew would be highly improper to ask her husband, though his unbounded love for his wife would induce him to comply with."

Hicky had exhausted the patience of Warren Hastings' Government. This was promptly met with denial of postal facilities to his *Gazette*. The vindictive Hicky was not cowed down by this measure which lost him about Rs. 500 a month. He was particularly anxious to inform his readers that he refused to bend before the official storm. Malice intruded into his writings, where vulgarity was the main feature before. The chief objects of his attack were Warren Hastings, whom he attacked through his wife, and the Chief Justice, Elijah Impey, whom he stung with allusions to Nandkumar and to his devious ways of amassing wealth. He referred to Mrs. Hastings as "Marian Allypore" and to Impey as "Poolbundy," hinting at a lucrative contract for maintaining bridges in order which Impey had secured for a relative. He published satirical verse and printed playbills of imaginary masquerades, concerts and plays where he assigned suggestive parts to leading members of the community. Hastings was cast as the Great Mughal and his fondness for war stressed; Impey always appeared as Judge Jeffries or Poolbundy; and other aversions of Hicky were similarly portrayed.

The *Gazette* was equally alert in pursuing the social life of the European community. The announcements of marriages and engagements which the first issues printed, were soon followed by anticipations of likely engagements. Hicky used this device to ridicule the men he disliked. Of individual women in society, he approved if sometimes with want of delicacy or good taste. He published essays of uniform dullness and unctuous virtue on the "profligacy of our women," the "folly of a fashionable life," the "evils that arise from French refinements," etc. Hicky assumed a high moral tone, specially in his notes explaining why contributions were rejected. This with a constant suggestion that his life was in danger from hired assassins became increasingly evident in later issues.

The Government, however, had other weapons in hand and it chose to use them. In June 1781, Hicky, resisting arrest by the Chief Justice's men, presented himself in Court the same day and was detained. A bail of Rs. 80,000 was demanded which he could not furnish. Hicky claimed that "several Europeans, some sepoys and between three or four hundred persons" had come to effect the

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arrest and that he had repulsed them. Some support comes from Macaulay's description of the Supreme Court of the time. "This strange tribunal," describes Macaulay, "had collected round itself an army of the worst type of the native population, informers and false witnesses, and barrators, and above all a banditti of bailiff's followers, compared to whom the retainers of the worst English sponging-houses in the worst times might be considered as upright and tender-hearted."

On the two indictments of Hastings on which Hicky was charged, Hicky was convicted to one year's imprisonment and Rs. 2,000 fine on the first. The Chief Justice awarded Warren Hastings damages to the tune of Rs. 500 but the Governor-General waived this. There is a reference to another claim by the 'padre' in a letter from Chief Justice Impey to one of his colleagues, but there is no award on it. It is a strange commentary on the times that, though Hicky was sent to jail and the intention of the action was to silence his newspaper, the *Bengal Gazette* continued to appear regularly and with no change of tone. In fact, Hicky's addresses to his public were even more defiant of the Government; even the invective and personal attacks continued unabated. With Hicky's references to his constitutional rights and to the persecutions of the Governor-General and the Chief Justice, the *Bengal Gazette* began to receive considerable support. As news trickled to the Calcutta Jail of Hastings' Benares war and the Oudh incidents, Hicky rose to new heights and published a satire on "The Congress at S—k—r" and "a vocal concert given previous to the rising of the Congress." Here he lampooned all the members of the Government.

This was the last of Hicky's editorial performances. In March 1782, four fresh actions by Warren Hastings were instituted and a plea was made for permission to seize the types. Hicky tells his readers that the petition was rejected, the judges holding that such action was repugnant to the British constitution. Hicky's rejoicing was shortlived. The types were seized and the *Bengal Gazette* was destroyed finally.

With this, Hicky passes out of the world of journalism as suddenly as he made his entry into it. We know from his addresses to the public that he had emerged out of the debtors' prison into which he had been cast by the "black Bengal merchants," with the Rs. 2,000, they refused in settlement of his trading commitments; that he was a printer by profession; and that he abandoned business for printing

without any particular liking for hard work. His protracted appeals to the Government after his imprisonment and the extinction of his newspaper reveal that in 1779 he had done some printing for Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, for which he claimed Rs. 43,514-1-3, and that after sixteen years he was forced by circumstances to accept Rs. 6,711. Hicky was engaged in this work, the printing of military regulations, when he suddenly decided to launch the *Bengal Gazette* and asked to be given all the material so as to complete his contract in the spare time of the press. This was not accepted. Hicky curiously remarks that "he has pledged himself to the Settlement to provide it with a weekly newspaper." Since Hicky had no knowledge at the time that Sir Eyre Coote's contract with him would be contested, the incentive to start the weekly must have been powerful and officially inspired. Hicky styled himself "the first and the late printer to the Hon'ble Company," presumably on the strength of his work for the Commander-in-chief.

Hicky's Gazette reflected life and opinion in the European community in Calcutta faithfully. Calcutta had become the capital of the Company's possessions in India. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 had created the maximum difficulties in the administration of the territories. The Governor-General and one other Company's servant formed a Council with three others nominated by the British Government; a Supreme Court had been established to administer English law to British subjects in India. Francis regarded himself and General Clavering and Colonel Monson as representatives of the English nation; Hastings and Barwell as the representatives of the Company. The Supreme Court, about whose establishment Hastings had been diffident, was neutralised because it was presided over by Elijah Impey, Hastings' old classmate.

The European community in Calcutta was very much alive to the hostilities between the two factions in the Council, which were well-known even to Indians then. *Hicky's Gazette* reflects the views of that section favourable to Francis. Many of the accusations levelled at both Impey and Hastings figured in the impeachment of Hastings later. Apart from political gossip, the newspaper wrote up the social life of the Europeans with just the touch of malice to interest its readers. Hicky's favourite quip was to "advertise" lost hearts, broadly hinting whose and to whom. London fashions and Oriental splendour were well suited to hold the interest of the English middle-class which in bulk formed the public of the *Gazette*; and the wit

and malice obviously did not offend a society which was less proper and prudish then than in later years. The advertisements in the *Gazette* provide an interesting sidelight on social life in Calcutta. In the main these relate to auctions and goods for sale. But recurring in several issues are tactful appeals to guests at parties who have taken away what did not belong to them—"a very elegant pair of candle shades," "shoes, shawls, pumps, pistols and regimental swords"—with offers of reward and tacit promises to forget the offence. There is too a repeated insertion about a slave boy who has run away from his master under the heading "Eloped." The *Gazette* often carried three to four pages of advertisement. Apart from the personal feelings of the Governor-General and the Chief Justice which were undoubtedly involved, the *Gazette's* influence in Calcutta and India was less feared than possible repercussions in England to the gossip of Calcutta. At no stage did the *Gazette* sell over 200 copies.

Hicky has been subjected by later writers to unmerited condemnation for his "vulgarity" when his sole offence seems to have been failure to guard against a prudish posterity. He was a tenacious character, not particularly interested in money. He had launched the *Bengal Gazette* in order to make not a fortune but enough to buy a small house in England and live a quiet life. It was a modest ambition for an age when prodigal sons were sent out to India to get colossally rich or die young. By a more moderate tone, he could have easily secured early settlement of his claim for Government printing. Those were the days too when troublesome or inconvenient "interlopers" from England were bought off. Clive is believed to have paid Rs. 100,000 to a strongly recommended candidate for service with the Company to secure his return to England by the same boat. Of Warren Hastings, Philip Francis wrote in a private memorandum: "In the first place, he concluded it would be an easy matter to gain us by corruption. (The reference is to Clavering, Monson and Francis). . . I am assured he was prepared to meet us with an offer of a hundred thousand pounds each." Barwell, Hastings' supporter in the Council, wrote to his sister: "The State of our Council remains the same and if any alteration is to be brought about by the influence of money, then no risk of private loss should be regarded." A suspicion has always lingered that Barwell's heavy losses to Francis at cards were partly diplomatic, to get rid of him by helping him to make his fortune quickly. And Hastings had bought off Elijah

Impey at a time when the latter threatened to curb the power of the executive. Hicky at any rate was not bought over; perhaps he had no influence in England. But he was broken by all the weapons which the Governor-General and the Chief Justice could wield against a British subject. He certainly did not ask for settlement of his Rs. 43,514 claim until all hopes of publishing his *Gazette* had been lost.

The *India Gazette* started publication in rivalry to *Hicky's Gazette* in November 1780 with the "approbation" of Warren Hastings. His Council was under control; Francis was on his way out; the vengeance of the law was being wreaked on Hicky. The joint promoters took the precaution of writing to Hastings in advance—having secured, according to Hicky, the interest of Mrs. Hastings earlier—and desired to be also appointed Printers to the Company. In February 1784, the *Calcutta Gazette* was launched under Government patronage. The *Bengal Journal* was established in February 1785, and its proprietor, Thomas Jones, offered to print Government advertisements free. In April 1785 the *Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusement* made its appearance as a monthly. In February 1786, the *Calcutta Chronicle* was published as a weekly journal. Within six years of Hicky's pioneer attempt, four weeklies and a monthly were being published from Calcutta.

The example was catching. Madras had its first weekly the *Madras Courier*, officially recognised and owned by the Government printer, in 1785, followed eight years later by the *Hurkaru* started by Boyd, who was forced out of the editorship of the *Madras Courier*. The *Hurkaru* went out of existence with the death of Boyd a year later. The *Madras Gazette* appeared in 1795 and the *India Herald*, an "unauthorised newspaper," had a brief existence the same year before its editor, Humphreys, was summarily dealt with for printing without permission and for "gross libels against the Government and the Prince of Wales." Bombay was the last of the presidency towns to have its own newspaper. The *Bombay Herald* appeared in 1789, followed by the *Courier* a year later and merging into the *Bombay Gazette* to serve as an official publication in 1791. The *Courier* is noteworthy as the first newspaper to cater in part to an Indian public—it published advertisements in Gujerati. All the newspapers solicited the privilege of printing official anouncements

and notices. The *Bombay Gazette* and the *Madras Courier* became the effective channels for government notices, and the printing press of the *Madras Gazette* which was specialising in Persian and Oriental types, received printing work from the Madras Government. In 1786, the Bombay Government had requested the Governor-General for supplies of two copies of the *Bengal Gazette*. In 1793, two copies of the *Courier* were sent by the Bombay Government to the Bengal Government with the remark that it would be useful to exchange "Government newspapers."

Despite the anxiety of the newspaper owners to secure government approval, there were occasional incidents which were tided over by apologies from the Press. In 1785, the Government forbade all newspapers in Bengal from publishing the orders and resolutions of the Governor-General's Council under the title "General Orders." But the Madras Government was the most sensitive, first requiring the *Madras Gazette* to submit all copies of general orders of the Government to the Military Secretary before publication (1795) and going on to impose pre-censorship of material on the Press in Madras (1795). In Madras and Bombay, adjustments were easily made, the sensitiveness of the Government officials being soothed by the submissiveness of the Press. In Bengal, however, there prevailed a mood of official suspicion which resented the very presence of newspapers. Hicky's fate was a warning to those who followed him, but without the warning many of them would have had no intention of imitating his example. From time to time an editor arose who was not prepared to submit to bureaucratic pressure. In 1791, William Duane became editor of the *Bengal Journal* of which he was owner in partnership with two lawyers. Duane was an Irish-American, a printer by trade, who had come out to India as a private with the East India Company in 1787. He ran into trouble immediately for publishing a false report of the death of Lord Cornwallis in the Maratha War. He attributed the news to a prominent Frenchman. On the protest of the Commandant of the French, Duane was asked to print an abject apology which he refused to do. Duane was on the verge of deportation when the French Agent intervened on his behalf, intimating that, as the French Commandant was dead, no further action was called for. But he lost the editorship of the *Bengal Journal*.

Duane next started the *Indian World* which for three years enjoyed a striking success, but he was a doomed man. The Government

made no secret of its detestation of Duane and his journalistic work and were waiting to break him. Subscribers to the *Indian World* and tradesmen who advertised in it were pressed to boycott it. Duane claimed that the army among whom he had close connections, had resisted similar pressure. In 1794, he was arrested forcibly. On his protesting against this act of the Supreme Court and seeking an interview with the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, he was invited to Government House, put under arrest on arrival there, and deported from India on an armed Indiaman. Duane valued his property in India at Rs. 30,000 but received no compensation from the Company. He went to America and distinguished himself as an editor in Philadelphia. Shore justified his conduct in a private letter in which he mentions the licentiousness of the Calcutta Press as not to be tolerated. The Supreme Court upheld the deportation and a precedent was set for expelling journalists who incurred the disapproval of the Government.

In view of the campaigns in India, military affairs occupied a great deal of attention. Editors were pulled up between 1791 and 1798 but they apologised and the matter was settled. An army officer was deported. In 1798, Dr. Maclean who had started the *Bengal Harkaru*, provoked a controversy by writing to the *Telegraph* first about letters being detained by the Postmaster and later criticising the conduct of a magistrate. The Government deported him and, as he had come to India without permission, the action was supported by the Court of Directors. In the general confusion, it seemed that deportation for indiscretions in the Press had the sanction of the Board of Directors and the seal of the Supreme Court.

The contents of these newpapers reveal the influence of Hicky. Foreign news, parliamentary debates, extracts from English newspapers, social news, letters to the Editor and Poets' Corners furnished the reading matter. Government notices suggested that the Press fulfilled an accepted function in administration. And there were advertisements and fashion notes. Editorials dealt with subjects of interest to the European community. The newspapers as a matter of fact were organs of local British opinion and, if in a subdued way unlike that of *Hicky's Gazette*, reflected the views of those outside the privileged official circle on the administration. Though the merchant, the lawyer and the doctor were looked down upon by the administrator, there were occasions when these views were listened to.

CHAPTER III

A Military Regime

> The dread of the diffusion of knowledge became a chronic disease . . . continually afflicting the members of government with all sorts of hypochondriacal day-fears and night-mares, in which visions of the printing press and the Bible were ever making their flesh creep and their hair to stand erect with horror.
>
> —SIR JOHN KAYE

THE Marquess of Wellesley came out to India in 1798 as Governor-General at the age of 37. His attitude towards the Court of Directors was "marked by a hauteur and contempt which he did not trouble to conceal," an unwisdom which Warren Hastings commented upon. Wellesley, if he ever thought of them during his years in India, thought of them as an audience to his performance and a foil to set off his brilliance. He had too a deep distrust of the parties in England and of parliamentary processes. The extension of English power in India was to him a blessing to be conferred on the inhabitants of India. Anything that obstructed this process, was pernicious. At the same time, he sought to enforce an iron discipline. "He quickly had every subordinate grovelling," write Thompson and Garratt. "Though he pushed his brothers, Henry and Arthur, with a diligence and rapidity that the Directors (and others) thought resembled jobbery, he discouraged undue familiarity from them." He had sufficient humanity to prevent the dedication of children at Saugor Point, to attempt to put down *sati* and to eliminate some of the harsher penalties of the criminal law. Otherwise he in no way considered the life and condition of the Indians. In fact, he imposed a military regime which prevailed for over 37 years, far beyond the needs of the times.

Of the European community in India, he had no opinion at all. "In the evening," he wrote to a friend, "I have no alternative but the society of my subjects or solitude. The former is so vulgar, ignorant, rude, familiar and stupid, as to be disgusting and intolerable; especially the ladies, not one of whom by the bye is even decently good-looking.... I stalk about like a Royal Tiger, without even a friendly jackal to soothe the severity of my thoughts." He

had nothing but contempt for the Company's servants who, he constantly urged, came out as boys to be educated and moulded in the worst school in the world. "Low birth," "oriental manners" and "education in the Company's service" were the marks of his predecessor, Sir John Shore whose elevation to the governor-generalship Wellesley characterised as a folly. In a communication he expressed his determination to "encounter the task of effecting a thorough reform in private manners here, without which the time is not distant when the Europeans settled in Calcutta will control the government if they do not overturn it."

It was not to be expected that he would approve of the Press. He justified the deportation of Dr. Maclean on the ground that "he had assumed a privilege of animadverting through the medium of a public print upon the proceedings of a Court of Justice, and of censuring the conduct of a public officer for acts done in his official capacity." Bruce, the editor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, provoked his wrath by writing an article on the relative strength of the European and Indian forces engaged in the campaign against Tippoo. Wellesley promptly wrote to Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief: "I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting rules for the conduct of the whole tribe of editors; in the meantime, if you cannot tranquillize the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force, and send their persons to Europe." Within a month, in May 1799, he issued his notorious Regulations, the five points of which were:

1. Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.
2. Every editor and proprietor of a newspaper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary to the Government.
3 No paper to be published on a Sunday.
4 No paper to be published at all, until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government.
5. The penalty for offending against any of the above regulation to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

At the same time Rules were also framed for the guidance of the Secretary in his role as Censor. These banned the publication of all information relating to the finances of the Company, troop movements, shipping news, naval or military preparations, move-

ment of supplies or specie, reprinting of extracts from European newspapers which might affect the credit of the British power with Indian states, observations conveying information to an enemy or exciting alarm or commotion in the Company's territories, all statements with regard to the probability of war or peace with any of the Indian powers, and all private scandals or libels on individuals. This was the system under which the Press functioned in India till practically 1835. From time to time, there were additions to extend the control to all printed matter. Wellesley was anxious to issue an official gazette and newspaper, carrying government advertisements and notices. A judicious selection of articles was to be published to provide suitable reading matter for the public. The Governor-General considered this the best corrective to the evils of an independent Press but the idea was abandoned because of the expense involved. He flatly refused permission to the missionaries to set up a printing press in Calcutta, forcing them to Serampore, the Dutch settlement. The Press on the whole accepted the restrictions and with evasions of pre-censorship on the one hand and warnings on the other, a working basis was established which obviated the need to resort to deportation. Wellesley after his retirement seems to have considered his measures needlessly drastic, probably realising he had overestimated the threat to security. But the Court of Directors found them too convenient to agree to modifications.

From considering the official policy it would be well to turn to look at the Press itself. In Bengal at the time of the Wellesley Regulations, there were seven newspapers all of whom reported to the Secretary to the Government with promises of conforming to the rules. We notice that of the four weeklies and one monthly existing in 1786, only the *India Gazette* survived in 1799. The seven in existence were:

Name	*Proprietor*	*Editor*	*Printer*	*Periodicity*
Bengal Harkaru	William Hunter	William Hunter	Urquart	Weekly
Morning Post	Archibald Thompson, Paul Ferris & Morley Greenway	Archibald Thompson, Paul Ferris & Morley Greenway	Archibald Thompson, Paul Ferris & Morley Greenway	Weekly

Name	*Proprietor*	*Editor*	*Printer*	*Periodicity*
Telegraph	Holt McKenly & H. D. Wilson	Holt McKenly	..	Weekly
Calcutta Courier	Thomas Hollingberry & Robert Khellen	..	Thomas Hollingberry & Robert Khellen	Weekly
Oriental Star	Richard Fleming	Richard Fleming	John Johnson	Weekly
India Gazette	William Morris, William Farrlie & J. D. Williams	..	..	Weekly
Asiatic Mirror	Charles Bruce & John Schoolbred	Charles K. Bruce	..	Weekly

The *Calcutta Gazette* continued to appear as an official publication, not listed with the seven but nonetheless subject to the Regulations.

As far as one can gather, the newspapers in Calcutta ran on a complementary rather than a competitive basis for the most part. The *Calcutta Courier* which appeared on Sundays before the Wellesley Regulations prohibited Sunday newspapers, changed over to Fridays; the *Asiatic Mirror* came out on Wednesdays; the *Oriental Star* was published on Saturdays. There were two weeklies in Madras, the *Madras Courier* and the *Madras Gazette*; and two in Bombay, the *Herald* and the *Bombay Gazette* having amalgamated. The total circulation of these publications did not exceed 2,000 copies. Though frequent accusations are levelled at them of being "licentious," it is evident that the bureaucracy took its cue from the austere Wellesley and used the only argument which appeared to carry weight with the Directors at London. As a rule the Press was anxious to conform to the wishes of the Government. Lord Minto (1807-1813) made little change in the policy towards the Press. He attempted to persuade the Serampore missionaries to transfer their establishment to British territory in order to bring

them under control but gave in to their plea that the expense was prohibitive. He secured from them a promise to submit their journals to censorship. With the Marquess of Hastings who came out in 1814 at the age of 60, a new situation arose. There was a changed policy towards missionaries for one thing and Hastings was known for his broad liberalism.

Hastings attempted to reframe the regulations. Pre-censorship was proving difficult, particularly in view of a New South Wales Court decision holding the official Censor responsible, rather than editor or printer, for a printed libel. Hastings' regulations were considered in India as an enlargement of the rights of the Press, though Sir John Malcolm felt they had in effect tightened the old restrictions by moving the responsibility for printing offensive matter from an official functionary to the editor and author. The emphasis on responsibility for observing, rather than on penalty for offending against, the regulations struck Mountstuart Elphinstone as an unwise innovation. Without these refinements, other servants of the Company solidly opposed them and tried to destroy their effect. In London, the Court of Directors desired a return to conditions prevailing before 1818, and withheld their sanction. Hastings' regulations required editors to refrain from discussing the measures and proceedings of the Court of Directors or any other public body in England connected with the Government of India, from commenting on transactions of the local administration; to avoid discussing the public conduct of members of the Council, judges of the Supreme Court and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; to abstain from publishing private scandal and personal remarks which would cause dissension in society; and to eschew alarmist reports and reports likely to rouse suspicion in the local population or interference with their religious practices. The same considerations were to govern the choice of extracts from European newspapers which had also to be screened to keep out material affecting British power and reputation in India.

The most significant development in public life was the launching of the first Indian newspaper in English, the weekly *Bengal Gazette* in 1816 by Gangadhar Bhattacharjee, a teacher who was greatly influenced by the liberal ideas of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Mrs. Margarita Barnes (*The Indian Press*, 1940) remarks that its existence was a short one. Mr. J. Natarajan (*The History of Indian Journalism*, 1954) says it lived only a year. According to Mr.

Jatindra Kumar Mazumdar (*Raja Ram Mohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India*, 1941) the weekly continued till 1820. It is probable that Raja Ram Mohun Roy was responsible for the venture. He had just at this time withdrawn his name from the list of sponsors of the Hindu College because of opposition and he may have avoided open association with the first venture in Indian journalism in the interests of the *Bengal Gazette* itself. What is known is that Gangadhar Bhattacharjee and his supporters were enthusiastic members of Ram Mohun Roy's Atmiya Samaj. Raja Ram Mohun Roy was engaged at the time in issuing pamphlets and tracts on religious subjects and translations of Hindu religious books into Bengali and English. The first Indian journalist seems to have represented a school of thought—progressive Hinduism—rather than a commercial interest or an individual. Its successor, the *Sambaud Kaumudi*, a Bengali weekly conducted by Raja Ram Mohun Roy, attracted considerable attention. There is some mystery about its origins. Mrs. Barnes places the date of first publication in December 1821 when it was started by Bhowani Charan Banerji; she says that it was taken over by Raja Ram Mohun Roy in December 1822. Mr. Mazumdar places it in 1820. And the Rev. J. Long (*The Vernacular Press of Bengal*, 1859) says that it was first started by both these gentlemen in 1819, then suspended after three months on account of differences between them, and restarted in 1822 by Raja Ram Mohun Roy. A contemporary account (James Silk Buckingham in the *Calcutta Journal*) tells yet another story. The *Sambaud Kaumudi*, it says, "was originally established in December 1821 and relinquished by its original proprietor for want of encouragement in May 1822, after which it was kept alive by another native till the September following when, about the commencement of the Durga Puja holidays, it was first suspended, and then fell to rise no more." Whatever the actual date of first publication, it was a definite move in appreciation of Lord Hastings' liberalising the Press laws. Nor was it an isolated act. Ram Mohun with characteristic prodigality launched the *Mirat ul Ukhbar*, a Persian weekly to convey news to that section of Indians which was unfamiliar with English or Bengali (April 1822); and the *Brahmunical Magazine*, an English periodical to counter the propaganda of the Serampore missionaries.

For in April 1818 John Clark Marshman and Ward had put out the *Dig-Dursan*, a monthly magazine in Bengali, as a feeler to test

the Government's reactions to a newspaper in Bengali. William Carey, the founder of the settlement, was not in favour of this new activity which, he feared, would add to their difficulties. He was overruled and in 1818, Marshman went to Calcutta with the first number of *Samachar Durpan* dated May 23, 1818 and secured the approval of the Government. They had also started their English monthly, the *Friend of India*, in April 1818. The *Samachar Durpan* combined propagation of the faith with presentation of district news. It was extensively read by officials who through it had access to information that otherwise would not have reached them. And to Indians it had an appeal because of official support. Lord Hastings extended the postal facility of delivery at one-fourth the usual rates and under his successor the Government subscribed to 100 copies for distribution to officials.

Soon after this, Hindu reactionary opinion also asserted itself. In 1821, Bhowani Charan Banerji broke with Ram Mohun Roy and started the *Chandrika Samachar* as an organ of orthodox Hinduism. Two more Persian newspapers followed Ram Mohun Roy's venture—the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* and the *Shams-ul-Akhbar*, 1822; and in the same year the *Bombay Samachar*, a Gujerati newspaper, began its long career—as a weekly.

Circulations with all these publications were small—between a hundred and two hundred. But their appearance was notable for two reasons: In the first place, the Press in India was growing roots in the country, evincing a keen interest in local events and national controversies. In the second place, a more serious note was gradually introducing itself into discussion, presentation and exposition than had been noticeable in the first newspapers. Religious controversy came in with the mission journals; the dispute was carried into Hindu society by the writings of Ram Mohun Roy; and English radicalism had its adherents in the field. The implications of these changes escaped the bureaucrat who continued to rage against the "licentiousness" of the Press. In the official world, the resentment at the presumption of Calcutta Europeans daring to criticise authority mounted to fury at the very thought of Indians attempting it. But there was a very practical problem it had to face—the Indian editor, unlike his English prototype, could not be deported. The sole proprietor and editor of the *Morning Post* of Calcutta was Heatly, born in India of a British father and an Indian mother. In 1818, he defied the Secretary-Censor and published a cancelled

passage in a despatch in his paper. As he claimed Indian nationality, nothing could be done to him. As a native of India, he was outside the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

Up to 1816, there were no Indian proprietors or editors of newspapers. Between 1816 and 1820, there was only one Indian-owned newspaper published weekly in Calcutta. Who were the Europeans who controlled the Press during the first forty years of its existence? Hicky was a petty businessman who had taken to printing. So were his imitators in Calcutta. In Madras and Bombay, there was considerable official sponsoring and patronage. This influenced the character of the Press in the different presidencies. The Bengal pattern resembled vaguely what was obtaining in London. In 1783, of the nine daily newspapers in London, five were advertising journals. Two were run by printers and stationers. One had as its sub-title, "The Cheap Daily Advertiser." Some were conducted by syndicates of victuallers. All the factors which hindered newspaper work in England, were not only present but vastly multiplied in India—backward communications, illiteracy, Post Office restrictions, Sabbatarianism, and the hostility of the ruling classes. By 1823, there were about three newspapers published in Bengali, three in Persian and one in Gujerati, owned and conducted by Indians; but none in English. There was a Bengali newspaper put out by the Serampore missionaries. Even so, the problem presented by newspapers owned or edited by Indian nationals was beginning to exercise the minds of the Company's servants.

The censorship, apart from its legal aspect, had revealed a new approach to the Press. Its object was, like the policy of the Company before Wellesley, to secure the non-publication of news unfavourable to the administration in India. But, while the original intention was to prevent local opinion from reaching England, the censorship sought to stop its spread in India itself. Wellesley, engaged in a policy of expansion, did not want the weakness of the administration exposed to "enemies" in the country. The censor in Bombay, Warden of the Bombay Council, was reprimanded by Wellesley for allowing the news of Lord Cornwallis succeeding Wellesley to be printed in the Bombay newspapers on the ground that important negotiations might have been defeated by the premature disclosure of a change of "rulers." Newspapers in Calcutta were pulled up for

printing information that might be useful to the "enemy," or endangering relations with some of the Indian powers. Very little was left for the Press to print under Wellesley's policy of not letting either hand know what the other was doing. The arduous nature of the Censor's task can be judged by Mr. Warden's statement that very often he was recalled to Bombay from a little week-end relaxation in the neighbouring island of Salsette for the purpose of deleting passages from speeches delivered in the House of Commons criticising the policies of the authorities in India.

There was one phase of Wellesley's policy which had a peculiar appeal to the bureaucrats who influenced the administration till 1835: This was his strong aversion to the policies of the administration and the conduct of officials being commented on by writers in India. He initiated the division of the residents in British territory into four clear-cut classes—the military, the administration, the non-official trading and professional Europeans and the natives. It had its parallel in the traditional society of the Hindus. It set a pattern which prevailed long after the liberalisation of the Press. As the area of British influence extended and the dependence of other Indian rulers on the British increased, a period of peace descended on the country which was utilised by the administrator to build himself up to first place in the fourfold caste system of British Society in India. What the Governor-General, imported directly from England and very conscious of his responsibility to the British Parliament, often hesitated to do, the Company's servant, promoted to the office temporarily or substantially, frequently did. Thus, Sir John Shore had unconstitutionally deported Duane. Even Wellesley himself had been content, once he had matters organised, to flourish the threat of deportation to secure submission. The later Governors-General constantly faced pressure from their officials and their ability to resist this was dependent directly on their degree of support in England. Lord Minto came out to India after the British Government had overruled the Directors' decision to confirm George Barlow, a Company servant who held the acting appointment after Wellesley left. With the Marquess of Hastings, the pretence of governing in the name of the Moghul Emperor was finally abandoned, and during his governor-generalship the Charter Act of 1813 brought in the missionary and opened up trade in India to British merchants. With these changes opinion in India began to matter, and the Press started developing roots in the country.

CHAPTER IV

The Hey-day of Bureaucracy

> It is salutary for Supreme Authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of Public Scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose none of its strength by its exposure to general comment. On the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force. That Government which has nothing to disguise, wields the most powerful instrument that can appertain to Sovereign Rule. It carries with it the united reliance and effort of the whole mass of the governed.
>
> —THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS

UNTIL 1798, there were no special restrictions on the Press. There were clumsy attempts to keep the few editors that existed in order. The only restraints on an editor were fear of assault, the possibility of being called personally to account in a duel and the English law of libel. The Marquess of Wellesley established a rigorous control which served well till 1815, and influenced official thought for another twenty years. It was pre-publication censorship which extended by degrees over the entire printed word, with the menace of deportation hanging over the persistent trouble-maker. There was after Wellesley a system of warnings which helped to restrain the Press; censors were mildly insistent and editors mostly compliant. In 1814, however, the Chief Secretary at Calcutta, John Adam, who was the Censor, was an able, conscientious and reactionary official. He had been in the service of the Company from the age of sixteen and had risen to the top by hard work. He operated the censorship with misplaced diligence, calling for the proofs of marriage notices and death announcements.

The English had just passed the Charter Act and, availing themselves of the new provision for Christian ministering to the Calcutta European community, the Anglicans sent out Thomas Fanshaw Middleton as the first Lord Bishop of Calcutta and the Presbyterians Samuel James Bryce as the first minister of the Kirk of St. Andrews, by the same boat. Both were aggressive sectarians and their quarrels soon exasperated the tolerant Marquess of Hastings who sought to avoid personal involvement by referring matters

to the Court of Directors at London. Middleton refused to lend his Church to Bryce on alternative Sundays but the triumph of Bryce was finally achieved with the completion of the Presbyterian Church with a high steeple surmounted by a resplendently gilded cock. While the discomfiture of Middleton proceeded, Bryce took time off to establish the *Asiatic Mirror*, a weekly newspaper, for the propagation of his views. He found the censorship irksome and, after vainly arguing with his fellow Scot, Adam, he appealed to Lord Hastings. The Governor-General was out of sympathy with Adam's views on the Press but his liberalism for once gave way to his personal dislike of Bryce. He upheld Adam and admonished Bryce for combining his ministerial functions with journalism. Adam, encouraged by this unexpected support, proceeded to the harassment of Bryce.

In 1818, however, serious doubts began to assail the official mind about the censorship. The New South Wales case had laid down that for all published libels under the system it was not the editor or printer but the official censor who was responsible. Further, the weapon of deportation was not available against the natives of India. Seizing the opportunity, Lord Hastings promulgated his regulations (August, 1818) by which he sought to shift the responsibility on to the editor. He was opposed by the majority of his Council and overruled by London.

In June 1819, a delegation of leading merchants, lawyers and officials from Madras arrived in Calcutta to present an address of praise to Lord Hastings for conferring the boon of a free Press on India. This was in effect as much a protest against the autocracy of the Madras administration as a demonstration for Lord Hastings. But it left a marked impression on Calcutta where the address was presented with all ceremony at a state function. And it was enthusiastically supported by James Silk Buckingham, once free mariner and traveller in many lands, who had won the approbation of the Governor-General, the Lord Bishop and the leading Calcutta merchant John Palmer, by resigning from the service of the Imam of Muscat in protest against the traffic in slaves, and was now a Calcutta editor. Bryce, itching for new foes to fight, had attacked Calcutta merchants with his usual fury, and the leading merchants, under John Palmer, had established a newspaper to represent their views. The editorship was offered to Buckingham who, after a preliminary hesitation, had accepted in September 1818.

Buckingham was a remarkable personality with wide experience and varied interests, destined in later years to make a powerful contribution to English radicalism. He had travelled in the Muslim world as an Arab and a Turk. He had secured the ear of Mehemet Ali of Egypt and advised that enterprising ruler how to bring the benefits of the West to his country. He had commended a plan for cutting a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea to shorten the route to India; he had suggested that young Egyptians be sent for Western training not to the universities but to the factories; and he had proposed the introduction of long-staple cotton from the Atlantic seaboard of America. He was keenly interested in steam navigation, horseless carriages and air-filled balloons for quick transport. He was a lively observer of the customs and practices of the people among whom he had lived. He dabbled in anthropology. And he was a keen student of literature. The *Calcutta Chronicle of Political Commercial and Literary Gazette* which first appeared on October 2, 1818, bore from the very first issue the impress of its versatile editor. He introduced Byron and Scott and Washington Irving to the Indian public; he published plates showing the difference between living elephants and fossil mammoths and compared the facial lines of monkeys, negroes, Europeans, Americans, Greeks and Romans. All this was strangely attractive to the English exiles in Calcutta and in the districts. It was balanced by local reports and by letters from correspondents airing their grievances.

Buckingham opened out his columns to readers, and nothing reveals the change in Calcutta so much as the contents of these letters in contrast to letters which had been appearing in Calcutta newspapers since Hicky first started his *Gazette*. Local conditions rather than fashions, life in Calcutta rather than the social round, and criticism rather than invective featured in the *Calcutta Chronicle*. Buckingham was a Whig and the extracts he reprinted from the English Press mostly gave Whig opinions. As the reason for the *Chronicle* coming into existence was the dissatisfaction of leading merchants in Calcutta with the Press and the administration, the newspaper was interested in discussing the acts and policies of the Bengal Government. The postal service, the police, the military establishment, and the Government's indifference to the grain monopoly drew considerable criticism. Buckingham's own editorials were strongest in condemnation of Indian practices like *sati* and denunciation of the Government's failure to end them.

The *Calcutta Chronicle*, which appeared twice a week as an eight-page paper, was received by the Calcutta newspapers with violent opposition. There were eight others at the time. Of these, two, the *Calcutta Gazette* and the *Morning Post*, merged with the *Journal*. The rest proceeded to assail Buckingham's past with ferocious malice. Leading traducer was Bryce, editor of the *Asiatic Mirror* who, beginning with an attack on Buckingham for desecrating the Sabbath by demonstrating the steps of a quadrille with several young ladies on a Sunday afternoon at Chowringhee, proceeded to question his past. A long controversy followed, which ended with the closing down of the *Asiatic Review*. The *Calcutta Journal*, beginning with a circulation of two hundred and seven taken over from the *Calcutta Gazette* and *Morning Post*, doubled its circulation by 1819; was the most widely circulated paper in India in 1820; and in 1822, at its peak, reached a thousand subscribers, mostly officials, military officers and merchants.

Such phenomenal success naturally provoked the hatred of his contemporaries, and there were always insinuations in the other newspapers about the morals, the religion and the integrity of Buckingham. Calcutta business, however, seems to have stood by him even when wild accusations were levelled against the traveller in Palestine of pirating the writings of others, of ingratitude towards friends who had helped him in trouble and of having become a Muslim. The officials could not fairly believe the evidence piled up by letters to the editor and pseudonymous communications in the rest of the Calcutta Press; but they did not feel it necessary to extend to him the protection of legal processes against his opponents. The "old Tories" of the Governor-General's Council, the Advocate-General and part of the Supreme Court, wanted Buckingham out of the country; the Lord Bishop and the Anglican clergy resented his drawing public attention to their neglect of duty; Bryce was stirring up Presbyterian feeling against his more successful rival; the judiciary squirmed under his attacks on the law's delays and uncertainties. It was a powerful array against the irrepressible journalist, and his only protection was the confidence of John Palmer and his friends. He had, it is true, the support of the Hindu intellectuals who rallied round Ram Mohun Roy. But this was a liability to both parties rather than a strength. He had for a time the political tolerance of Lord Hastings, the judicial impartiality of Francis MacNaghten, and the good fortune that smiles fitfully

on the fearless, to support him. But these were to be of no avail against the inveterate enmity and malevolence of his opponents.

The first blow was a private assault by one Darwall in 1819. Calcutta was disturbed that summer by a faction fight over the conduct of the select vestry of the congregation of St. John's. The vestry, consisting of the Governor-General and his council, the Lord Bishop and his parish chaplains, had rejected the elected administrators of the congregation's charities and appointed its own nominees. The Government *Gazette* took the view that no criticism of the action of those in authority should be allowed and refused to publish an advertisement of a public meeting to protest against this. Buckingham took no part in the controversy but he secured reports of what they had said from each of the speakers. Darwall, a supporter of the special vestry, refused to supply his speech and Buckingham reconstructed it from the reports of the others. Buckingham was riding on the course in his buggy shortly after and Darwall overtaking him on horseback cut him twice with his quirt. Buckingham lashed back with his whip and called on Darwall to get off his horse and fight it out, an invitation that was not accepted.

The resort to personal violence having failed, the old "tories" resorted to court action. Buckingham had scored two or three times when he turned reprimands from the Bengal authorities acting on complaints from sensitive Madras officials into an admission of the truth of his criticism. To maintain the semblance of legality, the Government turned from executive action to legal proceedings, which Buckingham hailed as a healthy development in its relations with the Press. A case against the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* for Rs. 20,000 damages was won by Greenway, the Boat Secretary, on a criticism of the inspection of river-boats. But Greenway was awarded one rupee as damages. This was followed by a criminal charge against Buckingham for publishing a letter by "Amulaes" protesting that it was not merit but influence which made men in India. Buckingham's own strong objection to this opinion did not help him. Lord Hastings was away from Calcutta and in his absence John Adam launched proceedings for libel against the Government. British Indian officials did not like the procedure of action under the common law because it involved a

jury trial. On Hastings' return, a compromise was reached by which Buckingham submitted an apology and refrained from defending himself. The case was then dropped. Another letter pointing out neglect of duty by chaplains who went on long journeys to perform marriage services, leaving their religious congregation to their own devices, brought down the wrath of the Lord Bishop; and Buckingham was informed that, if he persisted in his harassment, his licence would be cancelled and he would be forced to leave the contry. Buckingham promptly issued a pamphlet on the injustice of deportation without trial.

The goodwill of Lord Hastings was nearly exhausted. Henceforth, he resisted the pressure of the Adam group not because Buckingham was within his rights but because the remedy—deportation—was worse than the disease—"to deprive a man of his means of livelihood and even ruin him was something which society would reprobate." This comes out clearly in the answer to the minutes of his Council on the justness and expediency of deporting Buckingham whose licence was dependent on "unoffensive behaviour." Lord Hastings conceded that Buckingham had abused the freedom of the Press, but added that his writings were indiscreet but natural and certainly not contumacious. The conflict between the Governor-General and his Council arose over the discussion in the letters in the *Calcutta Journal* on dress reform. "Sam Sobersides" had begun the argument by calling attention to the inconvenience of conventional English dress, civil and military, at balls and social functions, and in his audacity had added that the King himself would have favoured reform. He had been answered by others who defended "our good old English manners" and rebuked him for criticising the Government. While professing all respect for the Government, "Sam Sobersides" observed:

> If no wrongs are to be redressed, or suggested improvements listened to, except those who go through Secretaries and Public Officers to the Government, none will be redressed or listened to but those whom they favour; and the influence of their favour (as that of their displeasure) extends farther than the Government can be aware of; some striking examples of which will be brought to their notice, by your fearless correspondent.

A week after this, the editor of the *Calcutta Chronicle* was called

upon to appear as a defendant in a libel suit brought by the seven chief secretaries to the Government. In another week, he was charged with criminal libel by the Advocate-General and made the subject of a minute to the Governor-General in Council by John Adam. Hastings was more upset by a rumour that Buckingham was to be helped by public subscription in his defence than by the issue involved or the prosecution, and, somewhat reassured on finding it was untrue, resumed his good-humoured tolerance.

Buckingham was found not guilty in the civil proceedings but he had to bear heavy costs—£600. The criminal indictment was made absolute, two judges of the Supreme Court holding this while MacNaghten held there was no jurisdiction. It was not followed up, pending the decision on the civil suit. When it was taken up, MacNaghten refused to hear the case, holding that the Court had no jurisdiction and that the rule was "cruel, oppressive and illegal."

Frustrated by the tolerance of Lord Hastings and the legality of MacNaghten, the "old Tories" resorted to the Press itself as an instrument to destroy Buckingham. In 1821, they launched *John Bull in the East* to counter the *Calcutta Journal*. Its promoters were John Troter, the Opium Agent, Richard Plowden, Salt Agent at Higgellee and Collector of Land Revenue, Thomas Lewin, Clerk of the Crown in the Supreme Court, and Greenlaw who held some six offices under the Company.

Buckingham finally took up the matter of pluralism, one individual being appointed to several posts. This does not appear to have been more than the last straw, even if his old adversary Bryce came under fire. John Adam, elevated to the acting governor-generalship, decided to act because, as he candidly conceded, it would have been wrong if he forsook the policy he had urged on Lord Hastings the moment he occupied the place of authority. Basically he objected to the acts and conduct of officials of the Government being criticised by members of the European community in India. Among these were disgruntled officials and army officers as well as lawyers, doctors and merchants. Adam was also very disturbed at the thought of Indians themselves taking up journalism. After an infructuous attempt to revive the criminal information of Spankie, Buckingham was deported in 1823. A week later, Adam laid before the Supreme Court proposals for

regulating the Press which were more drastic than anything passed before. The Supreme Court permitted opposing views to be represented and Fergusson, who was Buckingham's lawyer, presented a petition on behalf of Raja Ram Mohun Roy for the natives of India. It was ignored by MacNaghten who registered the regulations, declaring the anomaly of a free Press under a system which was not free. MacNaghten's view was also held by such leading civilians as Mountstuart Elphinstone and Thomas Munro. "In other countries," said Elphinstone, "the use of the press has gradually extended along with the improvement of the country, and the intelligence of the people; but we shall have to contend at once with the more refined theories of Europe, and with the prejudices and fanaticism of Asia, both rendered doubly formidable by the imperfect education of those to whom every appeal will be addressed. Is it possible that a foreign government, avowedly maintained by the Sword, can long keep its ground in such circumstances?" Munro took the argument a step further, insisting that a regulated Press was essential for the healthy political development of the people of India. He wrote: "A free press and the domination of strangers are things which are quite incompatible, and which cannot long exist together. . . . The desire of independence and of governing themselves, which in every country follows the progress of knowledge, ought to spring up and become general among the people before it reaches the army. If we, for the sole benefit of a few European editors of newspapers, permit a licentious press to undermine among the natives all respect for the European character and authority, we shall scatter the seeds of discontent among our native troops, and never be secure from insurrection."

The Adam Regulations were designed to meet a situation that was increasingly developing. Buckingham had appointed as his successor an Anglo-Indian, Sandys, who could not be deported, with two Englishmen, Stanford Arnot and James Sutherland, to assist him. MacNaghten in registering the regulations observed that "as Mr. Buckingham has appointed a successor who tells us he cannot be controlled by the Supreme Authority but is superior to it, it is necessary that things should be brought to their proper level." A similar view was expressed by the Privy Council to which Buckingham, back in England, had taken the question of the Adam Regulations. The Privy Council held that the necessity for licensing the Press in India arose because native opinion was likely to be

disturbed by writings in Persian, Bengalee and other Indian languages and that deportation had ceased to be effective once newspapers began to be ostensibly conducted by those other than British subjects of the Crown.

In the justification for the Regulations, Butterworth Bayley, the Chief Secretary, had made frequent mention of Ram Mohun Roy's Persian weekly, *Mirat-ul Ukhbar*. It was no surprise, therefore, that Ram Mohun Roy suspended the paper as soon as the Regulations were promulgated. In a statement explaining this action, four days after the supreme Court had heard his petition, the *Mirat-ul Ukhbar* gave three reasons for the decision. In the first place, an Indian had not access to the officials, as English editors had, to secure a licence. In the second place, "to make an affidavit in open Court in the presence of respectable Magistrates, is looked upon as very mean and censurable by those who watch the conduct of their neighbours." Thirdly, "after incurring the disrepute of soliciting and suffering the dishonour of making the affidavit, the constant apprehension of the licence being recalled by Government which would disgrace the person in the eyes of the world, would create such anxiety as entirely to destroy one's peace of mind."

PART TWO

Influence of British Opinion

CHAPTER V

The Background

> The pleasure with which we regard the effusions of the Native Press, does not arise from the intrinsic value of these productions of its infancy; but as an earnest of what it may produce when it has attained maturity. We therefore regard with pity those attempts that have been made to treat it with contempt by supercilious remarks on the ideas of one and the puerile criticisms on the stile of another. The languages of the East are surely fit for nobler purposes than being conned over in schools and colleges and stored up in Lexicons; and those who think they shew their superiority by flippant criticisms on the first efforts of the Press among Eastern nations, should have liberality enough to recollect that the lispings of infancy are as sweet to the ear of the philanthropist, as the eloquence of manhood.
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> —JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM

THE East India Company never had the good opinion of the British. Clive in an early communication to Pitt (1756) had suggested taking over the administration of the Indian territories of the East India Company by the English Government—not in the interests of the people of India but for the greater glory and advantage of England. William Bolts had favoured direct control by the British Parliament in 1772, drawing a vivid picture of the malpractices under the Company's irresponsible administration. James Silk Buckingham writing nearly sixty years later was equally vehement for an overhaul of the system prevailing in India. Though these and other similar opinions related to different conditions, their arguments had a cumulative effect, and as Parliament cleansed itself, the concept of responsibility for the condition of Indians took stronger hold on English minds.

Periods in history may be interpreted in various ways, and the richer a period is in action and in thought the more varied can be the interpretations. With the nineteenth century we enter on one of the most diversified half-centuries in history. In English parliamentary history, the preceding fifty years had been the "most contemptible and venal years." By 1835, the political party system had developed

out of a determination to rid Parliament of the corruptions of Crown influence and rotten buroughs. Henry Dundas, Pitt's Indian Manager and President of the Board of Control for long years, dovetailed, in the tactful words of one commentator, his Indian and Scottish policies so well that "Scotland lost control of her destinies but India enjoyed the priceless boon of government by Scotsmen."

Since 1784, India had had Governors-General approved by Parliament, men from English public life who, even when their sole qualification was the favour of the Sovereign or the Prince of Wales, were as a rule conscious of the influence of Parliament and the play of party politics. But men who had come out to India early in the service of the East India Company were little affected by changes at home. Not only John Adam and Butterworth Bayley but even Thomas Munro and Mounstuart Elphinstone were anxious to retain in India the restraints on freedom of expression which they too realised could no longer be enforced in England itself. Taking their cue from the Marquess of Wellesley, men of the Adam school exaggerated the dangers to the security of the administration; while Wellesley feared the undermining of the official by the irresponsible British community and the opposition of other governments in the country, the servants of the Company dreaded scrutiny of their own acts and the subversion of the native army on whose opinion of the Company's administration, to their thinking, their dependence rested.

In India, as in England, great changes were taking place in the first half of the nineteenth century. The missionaries had won an established place; English and education in the Western sciences had been accepted as desirable for Indians; and the state's responsibility for the improvement of the people was recognised. All these became important with the Marquess of Hastings' act in assuming for the Company the sovereignty of the Company's territories in India. The Serampore missionaries started the publication of literature and journals in Indian languages, and Raja Ram Mohun Roy followed up at once with his Persian and Bengali newspapers which sought to educate Indian opinion on secular developments in the West and on religio-social malpractices in Hindu society. Ram Mohun Roy appears from the outset to have provoked the antipathy of Europeans in India who were irritated by his presumption in expressing his views on religious and political

subjects and the tenacity with which he persisted in them. Ram Mohun was no rash innovator; in his zeal for the abolition of *sati*, he was careful enough to consider the possibility of British rule being jeopardised by hasty legislation. Yet he provoked enough opposition among the Company's servants for some of them to start an intrigue against him and persecute some of its Indian employees for their kinship with him. The administration as a whole looked upon his activities with considerable misgiving.

There was, however, considerable affinity between Ram Mohun Roy and Buckingham who came to Calcutta about two years after Ram Mohun Roy settled down in that city. While one need not go so far as a biographer of Buckingham who concludes that Buckingham drafted the defence of a free Press for Ram Mohun, it is evident that Ram Mohun was greatly impressed by Buckingham's editorship and probably even inspired by it. Similarly, the belief held by an admirer of Ram Mohun that Buckingham was a disciple of Ram Mohun's seems less probable than that Buckingham recognised a kindred spirit in him. Buckingham certainly deserves to be recognised as the inspirer of Indian journalism—just as some 70 years later Allan Octavian Hume organised Indian national opinion to form the Indian National Congress. For, it was with Buckingham that the Press began to discuss public questions and, for the short while that he remained in Indian journalism, to consider the public conduct of bureaucrats and state functionaries; before him it was very much a matter of personalities and gossip, and of functioning as a part of the Government.

The contrast between the political ideas obtaining in India and those rapidly coming up in England is aptly described by Buckingham in his *Calcutta Journal*. "A man who in England would have been regarded as an honourable, intelligent and useful member of society," he wrote, "is, in India, by means of this new logic proved to be a vagabond, a nuisance and little better than a fool. What in England is called an independent spirit, is here called presumption, arrogance and impudence; and what there would be laughed at as absurdity, is here put forth to the world in printed form as the dictates of profound wisdom." Only it was not a new logic but the old one which England had cast aside at home.

The Adam Regulations which were put into effect after the deportation of Buckingham, were directed towards regulating the Indian-owned newspapers. The prohibitory circulars which went

the rounds of English editors, did not go to Indian editors; and, of course, the Indian was not deportable. When the Regulations were before the Supreme Court, Mr. MacNaghten observed that the measure had been drafted to cover this lacuna, since Indian subjects could not claim this immunity without upsetting the control machinery. The readership of the English newspapers at the time was limited to men in the civil and military establishments in India, master merchants and their clerks, lawyers and doctors. The Indian language papers which were as a matter of fact the publications of Ram Mohun Roy and the Serampore missionaries and the organs of orthodox Hindu opinion which came into existence in opposition to Ram Mohun Roy's views, commanded even smaller readership but potentially they threatened to disturb the tranquillity of the natives. Significantly, they followed on Lord Hastings' assumption of sovereign powers for the Company and liberalisation of the Press regulations.

The thought lying behind the general support for censorship in the minds of the Company's servants was that the newspaper should function virtually as a branch of the administration, concerned more with conveying the views of the Government to the community than with informing the bureaucrat of what the people thought. The publications of the Serampore missionaries made the first dent on this concept but the missionary was more interested in expressing his opinion than in recording the views of his public. Ram Mohun Roy too was generally considered as unrepresentative of Hindu opinion. Buckingham came too close to topics that touched the conservative administrator and was a danger to the Company because of his constant disclosures of malpractices and his success in securing redress. After Buckingham, the rigours of the Adam Regulations were rigidly applied to suppress independent opinion, until Metcalfe, at the cost of his Indian career, pressed home the cause of an unfettered Press.

Turning from the politics of the Press to the contents of newspapers at the time one finds in the Indian language journals—in Bengali and in Persian—dissertations on Government, on Hindu social customs, on the necessity for the spread of medical education, and on philanthropy, mingled with local reporting and foreign news and shipping intelligence and market prices. Many items relate to political developments in other countries. There are outbursts against other newspapers, criticism of the Govern-

ment and ventilation of grievances of the public. Significantly, news from other parts of India occurs less frequently than foreign news. In the English journals, after Buckingham, parliamentary proceedings occupy considerable space with the front page devoted to European and American news. Buckingham himself reprints items from the Persian and Bengali journals of Ram Mohun and now and then gives a summary of the contents of several issues. The *Calcutta Journal*, after Buckingham's deportation, pursues the issues involved in the act and is persecuted by the administration. Despite the malevolence that attends the Company's policy towards critical newspapers, the growth of Indian newspapers is steady. First, the European business community of Calcutta under the leadership of John Palmer tries to keep some semblance of independent journalism; the controversy over Hindu social customs raised by Ram Mohun Roy and his group brings forward conservative Hindu opinion which secures support from the Company. Ram Mohun himself withdrew from the field; his friends and supporters kept up the various ventures. Bengal newspapers owed a great deal to Dwarkanath Tagore who was responsible for launching the English weekly, *Bengal Herald* and the Bengali *Banga Doot*, and even helped with financial assistance to maintain the *Bengal Hurkaru*, the *India Gazette* and the *Englishman*. A cousin of Dwarkanath Tagore, Prosanna Kumar Tagore, established the *Reformer*. Between 1828 and 1835, Bengal saw a number of journals coming up—many of which carried on for a short while.

In Bombay, the first non-official journal was started in 1823 and in the next ten years others followed. A member of the Governor's Council at Bombay, Francis Warden, owned two newspapers, the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Bombay Courier*. Warden's criticisms of the judiciary brought out questions regarding the propriety of officials being connected with the Press. In 1825, the Court of Directors ordered that Company's servants should have no connection either as proprietor or editor with any journal which was not devoted to literary or scientific topics. This was a question that was warmly discussed throughout the nineteenth century. Bal Shastri Jambhekar launched his Anglo-Marathi weekly in 1832 and an attempt was made to establish a journal in Poona without much success. In Madras and in the North, newspapers in regional languages were brought out with Government grants.

The newspaper had come to stay in India, despite these weak

beginnings. It is not an accident that the dawn of the Press is to be seen in the first moves to establish British sovereignty in India and that its rapid growth should synchronise with the strengthening of British authority. Between 1813 and 1835, several events took place which have their bearing on the growth of newspapers. The decision to extend English education, the opening of jury service first to Indian converts to Christianity and later to Hindus and Muslims, and the increasing interest of British publicists in Indian affairs with a due sense of responsibility for the acts of the Company come at the end of this period. Yet it is to Charles Metcalfe, a lifelong servant of the Company until the Company shook him off, that the main distinction goes for appreciating the importance of newspapers functioning without restraint and looked upon without suspicion by the administration. Even to Metcalfe the Press was an instrument more of education for the people than of information for the rulers.

Whatever the opposition of the bureaucrat in India and the Company's Directors in England to a free Press, the Metcalfe policy continued to hold the field. Metcalfe, however, was strongly opposed to any difference in policy towards the English owned newspapers from that pursued towards the Indian Press. The British officials who had to apply the policies of the Company, were naturally disposed to deal more favourably with British newspapers. At the same time, British journalists under official patronage felt that Indians had the advantage in not being subject to deportation and in not coming within the system of circular directives which obtained for them. Ram Mohun Roy had the more correct perspective when he withdrew temporarily from active journalism in 1823 on the ground that Indians had less ready access to the official than the British. These views, however, did not prevent the Press from growing. The significance of Buckingham to Indian journalism is threefold: He made the newspaper the mirror of the people; he manifested at its keenest and most persistent the spirit of inquiry and criticism; and he imparted to the Press the quality of leadership. The bureaucracy, impervious to all this, thought to make of him a warning to others. It could not put out the spark he had kindled. But in the 1830s a financial crisis overtook the business community in Calcutta and only the philanthropy of the influential zamindar, Dwarkanath Tagore, saved the newspapers from extinction.

A still more serious crisis was precipitated by the Indian Mutiny of 1856-57 which injected a racial colour to British thinking and affected the policies of the British for the next 90 years. The Indian Press was not interested in overthrowing the British Government in India. Not only Metcalfe but others saw that there was no one among English residents in India who was interested in the downfall of the Government with which their interests were firmly tied up. None of the Indians conducting newspapers at the time was for that matter anxious to see the British leave the country. The important group influenced by Ram Mohun Roy in fact felt that British contacts and English institutions were necessary for the regeneration of the people. In the Mutiny itself, the Press took little interest. In Bengal, Bombay and Madras, there was no indication of the unrest that was running through the Indian regiments of the Company's army. In the North-West, the few organs that existed leaned heavily on Government support and were under the double control of subsidy and censorship. Only in Delhi and in the Punjab, were newspapers inclined to oppose British influence and they seem to have all ceased publication just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. These were the Persian, Urdu and Hindi newspapers. Not all of them were against the British. It was a mixed bag including a court circular of the Emperor at Delhi and they depended very much on patronage from the Company and from landholders and princes. This was much less than the grants and subsidies given in Madras and in the North-West Province where newspapers were looked upon as educational publications. Controversy over religious and social questions was not as lively as in Bengal or among the Parsis of Bombay, and tempers were inclined to flare up at the smallest criticism.

Between 1830 and 1855, newspapers grew both in numbers and in circulation in Bengal, Bombay and the North-West Province: in Madras, the Karnatak and Malabar the effort was mostly missionary, and very rigorously controlled by the Government; in Delhi and the Punjab, the shadow of the dying regimes lingered fitfully over the Persian and Urdu Press. The Mutiny was thus of little significance for the Press. What was far more important was its consequence. The English owned newspapers displayed the worst forms of racialism; denunciations of Lord Canning's policy of conciliation combined with intemperate abuse of Indians were common features. There was nothing comparable on the side of

Indian newspapers whether in English or in the regional languages. Canning himself was intimidated by the virulence of the opposition of the vocal Englishmen in India and in promulgating the Press Act of 1857 roundly condemned the Indian newspapers, complimented the European Press for their loyalty and intelligence, and gave reluctant expression to the admission that it was really the conduct of the European Press which had brought on the law. "I am glad to admit," he remarked, "that the Bill is not especially levelled at the European Press."

The Mutiny was responsible for driving a wedge between English-owned and Indian newspapers and creating a distinction between the English language and Indian languages journals. Nevertheless, the nineteenth century saw many other developments which were of the utmost importance to the growth of journalism. The first half of the century witnessed the initiation of several innovations in transport and communications—the introduction of animal drawn carriages (1840) in India, the appearance of the telegraph in England, and the assumption of responsibility for giving Western education in India by the Company being the most notable. The next ten years brought the railway and the telegraph to India, the first illustrated journals and the development of regional newspapers to national status. And the last quarter of the century saw the rise of several Indian newspapers in English which grew to be organs of national opinion within a very short time.

CHAPTER VI

The Golden Age

> Every good Ruler must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and therefore he will be anxious to afford to every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestrained liberty of publication is the only effective means that can be employed.
>
> —RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY

THE East India Company had emerged out of an era of heavy criticism in England only to be faced with harassment over administrative details in India itself. Before 1813 the serious idealistic editor was an exception; after 1813 he was fairly common. Bryce may have been unpleasant, cantankerous, and bigoted but he was certainly the first of the editors to have a purpose. Buckingham who followed close on his heels, had done many things well but he was primarily a journalist—one of those journalists who are born rather than made. Besides, among the many ideas he had about a better world, administrative efficiency and integrity were prominent. His career in England after deportation brought these features out so strongly that he was among the leaders of the Radicals who wrought the Reforms of 1832. And there was, of course, Ram Mohun Roy, Hindu reformer, searcher after Truth, universalist and staunch champion of freedom everywhere and in all spheres. Outside journalism there was Victor Jacquemont, the Frenchman who has left vivid pictures of the India of his times.

There were still outstanding men in the Company's service but they were not yet important in Calcutta where the seat of the Government was. John Malcolm, Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone and the greatest of them all, Charles Metcalfe, were operating away from Bengal. In Calcutta were men who were good civil servants. John Adam typified the strength and weakness of the best among them. Gradually too the Board of Directors pushed around by the parliamentary committee of supervisors had accepted the convention that the highest office in India would not be open to

the servants of the Company. The golden age of Company rule which began with the governor-generalship of the Marquess of Hastings and ended after the Mutiny with the assumption of sovereignty by the British Crown, began against the opposition of the Company's leading servants at Calcutta.

The fortunes of the Indian Press bring this out as nothing else does. Ram Mohun Roy stands at the head of all our progressive movements. He broke the stranglehold of the reactionary pundits who interpreted Hindu Law to the foreign administrator; he roused the critical spirit of the educated classes which he himself did so much to create; he gave Bengal a small but vigorous group of public-spirited men who gave that province the leadership of India for almost a hundred years; and he conferred dignity on the regional languages. In all this, one might have expected that he would have secured the cooperation of the British. But it was otherwise. The "Tories" in Calcutta allied themselves with the reactionary elements in Hindu society. On the Indian side, "brahmin, moulvie, bishop and archdeacon," writes Arthur Mayhew, "met on terms of perfect equality, all alike interested in questions affecting 'the establishment.' 'I too am a brahmin,' said a discredited but self-satisfied Raja to Bishop Heber, who had expressed surprise at the courtesy of his reception . . . . 'We must stand together,' the manager of a richly endowed temple remarked."

Conscious as he was of the opposition he provoked on all sides by his views and the vigour with which he maintained them, Ram Mohun Roy was always ready to stand aside in the interests of the cause he upheld. Just as, in the matter of education, he had withdrawn his name from the sponsors of the Hindu College to mollify orthodox Hindu opinion, in journalism he assiduously kept in the background and allowed others to take the lead. Buckingham, it is evident, espoused the Whig outlook against the Tory views of the Company's servants. Ram Mohun Roy looked to the King of England to redress the evils perpetrated by his subjects in India. His main contention in support of freedom of expression was that Indians should be told of the excellent institutions of the English and the struggles in other countries to restrain despotism and avert anarchy and that the rulers should be made aware of the grievances of the Indians. Thus in his appeal to the King of England against the Supreme Court's rejection of his protest over the Adam Regulations, Ram Mohun Roy refers to him as the Liberator of Europe. Even in

speaking of the indigo planters he maintains that the condition of workers on these plantations was far better than that of other Indians living in the region. Ram Mohun Roy favoured a policy of judicious colonisation of India by Europeans with education and capital in order to increase India's contact with the West, secure England's technical knowledge, ensure closer contacts with Britain, and achieve unlimited union with England. There was a feeling among the opponents of "colonisation" that a large number of Europeans would create political instability: Their descendants, whether pure European or mixed, would, like the Americans, revolt. Bentinck, who was in favour of colonisation, had shrewdly analysed the problem, dismissing the revolt of Europeans as unlikely because of their emotional bonds with England and deprecating the possibility of Europeans and Indians combining because of the differences in manners and faith. He maintained that any mixed population would lean heavily on the British and be cut off from Hindus and Muslims both of whom would despise them. Ram Mohun Roy, approaching the question from a different angle, insisted that American Independence had been brought on by bad government and he saw no reason why, with liberal administration, India should not be content to remain with Britain—even if there was a large increase of the European element. Though the newspapers with which he was connected strongly criticised the administration in India, they kept broadly to these opinions. The Hindu Press which grew in opposition to his views, was too firmly allied to the Tories in the Indian Government to think of its downfall.

Bentinck, determined as he was about the policies he wished to pursue, was very fair to those who disagreed with him. His presentation to the Board of Directors of the views of officials and leading citizens on *sati* was fully representative of opinion on the subject and rounded off with an analysis of those views and a statement of his own opinion in favour of abolition. More important, it was he who advised the conservative Bengalees perturbed by the measure to appeal to London. The *Samachar Chundrika* wrote in September 1831:

> The whole population of Bengal being a timid and quiet race were wont to conjecture: "If we send a petition the Company may be angry, and then it will be the worse for us; or if our

> petition be rejected, then we shall suffer disgrace." But His Excellency Lord William Bentinck has utterly destroyed these fears. . . . All the Hindoos petitioned the Governor-General Bahadur for the preservation of the rite of suttee, and he advised an appeal to England. Thus, much has been attained by acquaintance with the resort to Appeal, and we are now assured that if we send a petition to England, it will be received. Henceforward therefore, if any evil befall us, we shall not sit down in silence, but weep so loud that our cries may reach our Sovereign. And if we live in happiness we shall so tumultuously make known our gladness that the praises of our benefactors may sound throughout the whole world.

The rejection of the petition somewhat damped the ardour for tears and laughter but the appeal to London was recognised and exploited by—not the reactionary forces represented by the *Chundrika*, but by progressive leaders like Keshub Chandra Sen and B. M. Malabari for the last time in 1891, to secure the raising of the age of consent. The point is vitally significant to the Press in India because it initiated among Indians the sentiment that the Government in India was not the last word and paved the way for the growth of Indian opinion, which, first in social matters and at last in political affairs, became the final deciding force.

Another important development was over Ram Mohun Roy's representations on the jury system. Sir Alexander Johnson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ceylon, had as early as 1808 advocated an experiment in Ceylon which could be extended to India, if successful, of trial by jury in criminal cases—"granting to the natives of the country, under the superintendence of European judges," the right to serve on juries. In 1811, he had introduced the innovation and its success had led the Board of Control in England to show some interest in extending it to India. Even "Indo-Britons" were not asked to serve on juries up to 1826 when the Indian Jury Act was adopted, giving "Indo-Britons" full right to sit on both Grand and Petty Juries, as well as on the trial of criminals, while excluding Indians from the Grand Jury and from Petty Juries on trials of Christians. Petitions were addressed to Parliament from both Bengal and Bombay; and Ram Mohun Roy utilised his stay in England to work for modifications in the act to secure not only greater opportunities of serving on the juries for Indians

but even for functioning as justices of the peace. Madras, it is true, protested through a public meeting that Hindus should not be asked to serve on juries adducing religious reasons but even this obscure opposition evoked interest in Calcutta. The achievement, which was attributed to Ram Mohun Roy, was great in itself but it had added significance because it roused all-India interest and at least brought two regions of British India together.

Life in the capital too was different from life in Bombay and Madras. Munro speaking from a lifetime spent in the South was convinced that the simplicity of life and meagre wants of the Hindus would not allow of any great trade with Britain. In Bombay the enterprising and imitiative Parsis were, as late as in 1850, as biased against new ways as the Hindus. One of them was roundly criticised for riding in a carriage with his wife round the shopping centre; another was condemned for having his friends and their wives home for dinner; yet a third offended the Parsi community leaders because during his visit to England he had dined with Englishmen. Bentinck, however, reports a different story about Calcutta to the Directors at London: "I shall not dwell on facts drawn from their history under the dominion of our predecessors, nor on the various changes which Hindu communities appear to have undergone, independently of any impetus from abroad.... Recent events, and the occurrences now passing under our eyes, still more clearly justify the persuasion that, whatever change would be beneficial for our native subjects we may hope to see adopted, in part at least, at no distant period, if adequate means and motives be presented. I need hardly mention the increasing demand which almost all who possess the means evince for various articles of convenience and luxury purely European; it is in many cases very remarkable. Even in the celebration of their most sacred festivals, a great change is said to be perceptible in Calcutta. Much of what used in old times to be distributed among beggars and Brahmins is now in many instances devoted to the ostentatious entertainment of Europeans." Here we have an explanation why newspapers in Calcutta were more numerous than newspapers elsewhere. Calcutta too had the big commercial houses—mostly Scots—and till the crash of 1830 the newspapers owed a great deal to these business leaders. A market wider even than the growing European community led to the practice of advertising which enabled newspapers to cover the heavy expenses of postage in distribution.

"If knowledge is a blessing and ignorance a curse, a well-conducted Press that dispels the latter and promotes the former must be as deserving of our support as the Schools and other Public Institutions established for the same purpose, since they are only different branches of the same tree; and, as the influence of the Press may be made to extend much wider than that of Seminaries, if each be equally well regulated, and directed to equally worthy ends, the former will be the more effectual engine of the two. The union of both is perhaps the greatest advantage that any nation can possess. . . . To excite a taste for reading and a spirit of inquiry among the community generally, and to gratify that taste . . . must therefore be a task of merit."

So wrote Buckingham in the *Calcutta Journal*; so thought Metcalfe when he recommended official association with the Press as the only way of ensuring informed and balanced criticism; and so argued the Madras Government when it sanctioned grants to the Tamil and Telugu Journals published in its region. It was a view which Ram Mohun Roy implemented with such vigour that for half-a-century Indian publicists launched schools and newspapers with equal enthusiasm. Where Ram Mohun Roy surpassed his imitators was in his active encouragement of all useful activity in both education and journalism while not abating his own contribution or suppressing his views. In fact, both in education and in journalism he was capable of self-effacement in the interest of the cause. In education, he offered a piece of ground to the Serampore missionaries to start a school; he advised Dr. Bryce to apply himself to education when the latter was disappointed with the response to his propagation of the faith, and supported his representation to the Scottish Churches at home; and he gave his personal encouragement to Dr. Duff in his religious and educational work, doing all he could to overcome local prejudice. Having initiated the Hindu College, he withdrew from the management because influential Hindus in Calcutta insisted on his withdrawal, but continued to assist it. He started an Anglo-Hindu school which combined interest in English with development of Bengali. Similarly in journalism he was behind every progressive effort, keeping in the background once he realised that his direct interest provoked the antipathy of both Hindu reactionaries and officials. The newspapers with which he was associated, were strong in their protest against the deportation of Buckingham.

And he inspired the journals which for long dominated the newspaper world of Calcutta. It was his friend and collaborator, Dwarkanath Tagore, who opened his purse to both English and Indian newspapers when they were sorely pressed for funds.

The Adam Regulations failed to achieve their purpose just as the deportation of Buckingham and the persecution of his successors failed to suppress the controversy over the administration of Bengal. Indian applications for licences to publish followed but most of the Bengali newspapers refrained from any comment on political and administrative matters for another five years. Lord Amherst who came out as Governor-General, was swayed at the outset by his councillors; but towards the close of his governor-generalship, he tired of a rigorous code which forced the Government to ignore much that offended and made official action capricious. The English newspapers were forbidden to discuss the Buckingham question and, though they were permitted to print the proceedings of the English Parliament, they were warned not to comment on them. Madras, however, steadily pursued a rigorous policy, "subjecting all controversial points in learning, religion and government to the arbitrary and infallible judgment of the Censor who, having experienced the advantage arising from his interpolations, erasures, additions and garblings, had even ordered that nothing shall be printed without being submitted a second time to the ordeal of his chaste criticisms, for the purpose of ascertaining that his corrections had been rightly made." (Leicester Stanhope). In Bombay, C. J. Fair, Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, was deported in 1823 for publishing what the Government of Bombay called false reports and Mr. Fair insisted were substantially true and published on the instructions of the Chief Justice, Sir Edward West.

The growth of the Press is shown by the following particulars collected in Lord Bentinck's governor-generalship: In 1828, there were two dailies, the *Bengal Hurkaru* and *John Bull*, both together selling some 360 copies daily; and three bi-weeklies, the *Indian Gazette*, the *Government Gazette* and the *Calcutta Chronicle*, in English; one Persian weekly, the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, which owed its existence to the support of a few English gentlemen; and three Bengali journals, the Serampore missionaries' *Samachar Durpan*, the *Sungbad Kaumudi* and the *Samachar Chundrika*. In 1830, as a consequence of Bentinck's tolerance policy, there were thirty-three

English newspapers reaching 2,205 subscribers and sixteen Bengali newspapers. Owing to the financial crash of business houses in 1830, several of these suffered—specially the English language newspapers, but in 1831, James Sutherland submitted a list in his evidence before the Select Committee which makes interesting reading:

ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS	*PUBLISHER*
Daily:	
The *Bengal Hurkaru* and *Chronicle*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *John Bull*	Geo Pritchard
The *India Gazette*	J. B. Scott & Co.
Tri-weekly editions of the daily papers of the same name:	
The *India Gazette*	J. B. Scott & Co.
The *Bengal Chronicle*	Samuel Smith & Co.
Twice a week:	
The *Government Gazette*	G. H. Hutman
The *Bengal Herald*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Calcutta Library Gazette*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Oriental Observer*	Geo Pritchard
NATIVE NEWSPAPERS	
The *Jam-i-Jehan Numa*	Hurryhar Dutt
The *Summachar Chunduca*	Bhowanicharan Bannerjee
The *Sunhad Tuneer Nussuk*	Kistomohan Doss
The *Bunga Doot*	Bholonath Sen
The *Sunbad Coumoody*	Gobind Chatterjee
Monthly publications:	
The *Calcutta Magazine*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Gleanings of Science*	W. Thacker & Co.
The *Kaleidoscope*	J. J. Fleury
The *Christian Intelligences*	Church Mission Press
Quarterly:	
The *Bengal Army Lists*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Army List: H. M. Forces in India*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Calcutta Quarterly Register*	J. B. Scott & Co.
Yearly:	
The *Bengal Annual*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Bengal Souvenir*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Bengal Almanack*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Companion and Appendix to the Bengal Almanack*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Bengal Directory*	Samuel Smith & Co.
The *Calcutta Directory*	J. B. Scott & Co.

There were three English newspapers published in Madras: The

Government Gazette, the *Madras Gazette*, and the *Madras Courier*. At Bombay, there were two, the *Daily Gazette* and the *Courier*.

The daily circulation of the *Hurkaru* was about eight hundred, and the price was seven annas. In Bengal Lord William Bentinck made a very considerable reduction in the postal charges. There were two fixed rates; two annas to all places within a certain limit, and four annas to all places beyond that limit. In Madras and Bombay the rates were still very heavy. The postage of a paper from Madras to Calcutta, for example, was one rupee, fourteen annas.

Between 1831 and 1833, nineteen new journals were added to this number, a list of which follows:

Name of applicant	*Name of paper*	*Language*
1831		
1. Dooloob Chunder Chatterjee	*Neetyoprokaus*	Bengalee Daily
2. Premchand Roy	*Sambad Sudakur*	Bengalee
3. Iser Chunder Gooptoo	*Sumbad Provakur*	Bengalee Weekly
4. Modoosoodone Dass	*Sumbad Rutnakur*	Bengalee Weekly
5. Bhoobun Mohun Banerjee	*Sumbad Muyookha*	Bengalee
6. Issar Chunder Dutt	*Sangbad Showdaminey*	Bengalee Weekly
7. Baney Madaub Dey	*Sangbad Sar Sangcho*	Bengalee and English
8. W. Kirkpatrick	*The Indian Register*	English
9. A. Moreiro	*The Hesperus*	English Evening
10. Krishna Mohana Banerjee	*The Enquirer*	English
11. Charles Henry Disent	*The Juvenile Emulator*	English
12. J. P. Namey	*The Reformer*	English
1832		
1. Moheschunder Paul	*Sungbad Rutnaboly*	Bengalee Weekly
2. Andrew D'Souza	*The Bengal Journal*	English
3. G. A. Prinsep	*Calcutta Gazette*	English Weekly
4. G. H. Hough	*The Philanthropist*	English Weekly
1833		
1. Russick Krishna Mullick and Madhub Chunder Mullick	*Gyan Auneshun*	English and Bengalee
2. Paterson Saunders	*The Moffussil Ukhbar Agra*	English
3. Wahajuddeen Mahummed	*Mahalum Afrose*	Persian

An interesting footnote to the origin of the Indian Press is the

confusion attending the facts of the first newspapers. The *Bengal Gazette*, it is admitted on all hands, was started in 1816 by Gangadhar Bhattacharya but how long it ran is disputed. The longest life claimed is four years but the generally accepted period is a year. The *Sambad Kaumudi* is considered to have been launched in 1819 or 1820. Though most writers insist that its first thirteen issues were edited by Bhowani Charan Bannerjee the claim was challenged in 1822 by Hurree Hur Dutt who asserted that Banerjee's claim was "a wicked and malicious fabrication of falsehood;" "he was no more than the real Editor's assistant and as such he was introduced to the notice of the gentlemen under whose immediate and sole patronage and support the paper has been launched." It is, however, accepted that Ram Mohun Roy was the moving spirit behind the *Kaumudi*, that Bannerjee worked with him for thirteen issues before joining the reactionary Hindus in their newspaper venture, the *Samachar Chandrika*, and that Dutt also edited the *Kaumudi* before launching the Persian *Jam-i-Jehan Numa*. The controversy over *sati* led to the establishment of several journals, most of which, however, were short-lived, ending with the abolition of *sati*. A writer in *John Bull* in 1832 observes that around 1830 a mania for newspaper writing arose in Bengal. "A thick crop of ephemeral publications immediately appeared. They sprang up with the rapidity of mushrooms and were as short-lived. . . . The sheer novelty of the thing suggested the concoction of some; the vanity of dictating from an editorial chair gave existence to others. Some were indebted to the bitter spirit of retaliation for their being; others owed their parentage to the calculations of filthy lucre." The writer commended three journals which were all connected with Ram Mohun Roy: The *Reformer*, the *Inquirer* and the *Gyan Auneshun*.

This school of progressive Hindu journalism held the Bengal field till as late as 1891. In 1855, Long wrote that the *Samachar Chundrika* "occasionally barks but is toothless now" having lost to the reformers and in 1891 the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* which had in 1878 become an English weekly, converted itself into a daily in order to voice orthodox Hindu opposition to the Age of Consent Bill, to counter Keshub Chunder Sen's *Indian Mirror*. Like Buckingham, Ram Mohun Roy was subjected to a compaign of vilification which seems to have stopped at nothing; like Buckingham too Ram Mohun's journals were drawn into controversies and personali-

ties; and like Buckingham Ram Mohun Roy with his varied interests and his numerous activities proved too much for his small-minded opponents. But unlike Buckingham he had to contend against the concentrated malice of his relations.

In Bombay, the enlightened Government of Bentinck provided opportunities for journalism which were quickly availed of by the Parsis and which started Marathi journalism on its course. The *Mumbai-na Samachar*, a Gujerati journal, started as a weekly by Furdonji Murzban in 1822, was converted into a daily in 1832. In 1830, the *Mumbai Vartman* was launched by Naoroji Dorabji Chandaru and a year later the *Jame-Jamshed* was established by Pestonji Maneckji Motivala. Two other Gujerati newspapers were started to fight out the calendar controversy among the Parsis and J. H. Stocqueler found his entry into Indian journalism with the English *Iris* which he had tried to render popular by inviting sedition and fostering discontent but to no purpose. *Iris* opened its columns to both sides in the Parsi dispute and became a force but it was wound up when Stocqueler acquired the *Bombay Courier* on the decision forbidding Company's servants to run newspapers forcing a transfer of ownership. In 1832, Bal Shastri Jambheker started the Anglo-Marathi weekly, the *Bombay Durpan* which remained the sole vehicle of Marathi expression till ten years later. There was a single Persian weekly in Agra.

Thus the era starting with Bentinck's governor-generalship seemed to hold considerable promise. With the assumption of direct responsibility for the administration of the Company's territories, a feeling of trusteeship predominated. Moreover, the British East India Company was now one of the dominant powers in India, even if only the biggest one. It had overcome criticism in England and the acceptance of parliamentary control had averted the danger of the British Crown taking over. The awkwardness of these anomalies was rendered the less apparent because the Company's eagerness for economy precluded military adventures and the diplomacy which the new situation called for, brought out men all over India who could appreciate and understand the rulers and ministers with whom they had to treat. At the same time, the possibility of Indians in British territory preferring any of the States seemed unthinkable because of the advantages of greater security and peace offered by the Company's administration.

The period begins somewhat earlier than Lord Bentinck's time. Charles Metcalfe who at the age of 19 had accompanied General Lake on his Maratha campaign, and at 24 had negotiated the treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh, was in his thirties when the Marquess of Hastings arrived as Governor-General. He had come to be the most influential of the Company's servants. He favoured a policy of building up military strength, extending the territories of the British to a point of security, and consolidating the position with treaties between the Company and such of the country powers as remained. Only the narrow policies of the Court of Directors prevented Metcalfe's views from having full scope. Metcalfe had stood out against Hastings in the Hyderabad intrigue and he had received valuable support from John Adam. But he did not share Adam's views on the Press. Lord William Bentinck when he was Governor of Madras had held the conservative opinion himself but coming back as Governor-General he changed his attitude. Part of the credit must go to Metcalfe who stood consistently all through for freedom of the Press. For Bentinck's first instinct was to check comment on the economies he was to put through in the army. But after that he pursued a policy not only of tolerance but even of active assistance. And, in 1835 when English and Indian leaders of the Calcutta Press submitted a petition for the repeal of restrictive laws, they were assured that a system would be soon established which "while it gives security to every person engaged in the fair discussion of public measures, will effectively secure the Government against sedition and individuals against calumny." They were further told that "they already enjoy the liberty they solicit nor has the Government any intention of restricting that liberty." To the Madras Government pressing for action, Bentinck had also promised a Commission to overhaul the Press laws.

The petition is important as the combined representation of both English and Indian journalists in Calcutta. Before a month elapsed, Bentinck had to leave India for reasons of health, and Charles Metcalfe as senior member of the Council held the office of Governor-General. Metcalfe knew his India and unlike the men from England who had been influenced by the wave of radical opinion, he had derived his liberalism from practical experience. He knew that even Munro and Elphinstone and Malcolm desired restrictions on the Press; he was fully aware of the opposition of his colleagues

in the service; and he was conscious of the Board of Directors' approval of censorship. Nevertheless he referred the question of revising the Press laws to his Law Councillor, Macaulay, and asked him to frame an appropriate act changing licensing to registering. Macaulay favoured a uniform law for all India which would leave the individual free to print without permission but still render him liable for punishment for printing sedition and calumny. Accordingly, he framed the act and Metcalfe promulgated it, commending the work of Macaulay. Macaulay commended his law on the ground that it was more in conformity with existing conditions, that it was harmful to the Government itself to have harsh laws on the statute-book which it did not use, and that the Indian Government had without these laws enough power to handle any situation or emergency that might arise. Metcalfe in expressing his approval went one step beyond his earlier stand. Where before he had said that ignorance was more dangerous than the spread of knowledge and that if England had the choice she had a definite responsibility to prefer the diffusion of knowledge to the perpetuation of ignorance, he now maintained that "do what we will, we cannot prevent the progress of knowledge, and it is undoubtedly our duty to promote it whatever be the consequences." To Chief Secretary Prinsep and Colonel Morison who urged special vigilance over the Indian language Press, Metcalfe firmly rejected any differentiation between English and Indian newspapers. He made the further point that a tenure which depends on attempts to suppress public opinion cannot be lasting, both "because such a tenure must be rotten and because such attempts must fail." The Council passed the new Act unanimously. A reference by the Madras Government for clarification about government servants participating in journalism was answered with the explanation that the rule (of 1825) applied only to covenanted servants and not to uncovenanted servants removable without reference to the Court of Directors. Metcalfe regarded the Act as a measure to give freedom to the Press, with adequate provision to bring journalists under the ordinary laws of the land.

The Act governed the Press till 1856, despite the disapproval of the Court of Directors whose remonstrances with Metcalfe were unseemly and offensive. The Directors charged the Governor-General with reversing the law against their past directives, against the opposition of the Governments of Bombay and Madras and his

own Councillors, and against the policy and practice of his predecessors. As the argument mounted and Metcalfe refused to yield ground, they went on to charge him with having anticipated the Law Commission *they* meant to set up and with seeking cheap popularity. Having indicated to him that he had lost the permanent governor-generalship by his attitude, they made him Governor of the North-West Provinces and passed him over for the Governorship of Madras. They made it clear that only the inadvisability of intervening held them from overriding his decision and annulling the Act; but they pressed on him to reverse the decision himself, failing which they would await the advice of the new Governor-General, Lord Auckland. But for the next twenty years, no Governor-General thought to upset the law set up by Metcalfe. The great liberator of the Indian Press sacrificed his career but he had launched Indian journalism on its long and eventful journey.

CHAPTER VII

Darkness at Noon

> The outbreak at Vellore was serious and had certain analogies with 1857 . . . . Three years later came the White Mutiny, one of the numerous occasions when the Company's European troops set an example of organised insubordination. During the next fifty years there was periodic disaffection in the Indian Army, chiefly due to disputes about pay and prospects, and about liability to serve abroad or in those outlying parts of the country which were then being brought under the Company's rule. Severity discouraged such manifestations for some years, but the Afghan War (1839-42) was followed by a marked deterioration in discipline.
>
> —EDWARD THOMPSON AND G. T. GARRATT

THE easy-going Auckland, the flamboyant Ellenborough, the war veteran Hardinge and the imperious Dalhousie had other business than the regulation of the Press to occupy them in India. The hope of peace was shattered by the Afghan War and involvements in Sind and the Punjab. Auckland whose "habit of suppressing and garbling documents" created diplomatic complications for his successors, was known to be a pacific man. His Afghan adventure is ascribed by Kaye to Simla, "the cradle of more political insanity than any place within the limits of Hindustan." P. E. Roberts ascribes it to the excessive fears of Englishmen at the time of Russia; Vincent Smith and Sir George Dunbar attribute it to the excessive fears of Palmerston and the British Cabinet. But it was the beginning of the fears of the "Russian menace" which was to bedevil the Government of India's policies for several decades; it saddled Indian finances with heavy burdens; it blazed the trail of the policy which was ultimately to bring Sind and the Punjab under the Company. Auckland too laid the foundation by "an inexcusable piece of carelessness" to the annexation of Oudh. Auckland, however, showed himself eager to win the goodwill of the Press. He kept the Calcutta newspapers informed of the progress of events in Afghanistan. He thought at one stage to arrange for a government newspaper but abandoned the idea because of opposition.

And he persuaded the Court of Directors to modify the order against Government servants taking part in journalistic activities to apply only to military officers. His successor, Lord Ellenborough who could never forget that he had been three times President of the Board of Control and had been then above the Court of Directors who now sought to instruct him, has been described by Stocqueler as unfriendly to the Press. He banned the publication of official documents without the consent of the Government. He discontinued the releases of Auckland and, when remonstrated with, restored them for a short while only to stop them again. He was capable of mature thought though his excitability and bombast won him many enemies. His action on the publication of letters from him to Sleeman in the *Bombay Times* is to his credit: Where earlier governors-general admonished the editor or deported him, Ellenborough rebuked the official and ruled against such future indiscretion. Almost fifty years before Disraeli proclaimed Queen Victoria Empress of India, he conceived the idea of inducing the Moghul Emperor to abdicate in her favour, a plan which for obvious reasons was not pursued then. Dalhousie played with the idea of establishing an official newspaper.

Generally, therefore, the Press was allowed to develop, and there were circumstances greatly favouring this. Steam was to prove as important a factor in newspaper history as it was in communications. Education was being promoted in the three provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. And the British territory in India was extending dangerously beyond the Company's capacity to man the machinery of government. Only the rise of exceptionally gifted men who turned their hands to administration or arms as the need arose, saved the British power in India. Many of the excesses and errors of this period sprang from this overworking. And curiously enough just at the time when the Company had the better case—for the errors of the declining years of the Company were mostly the defects of policy of the British Cabinet—it was decided that the Crown should assume the sovereignty of India. The moderating influence of English public opinion which was very critical of the Company's business was with the transfer of power to the Crown converted into a national policy of supporting the deeds and words of the men on the spot. Even the force of party politics on imperial policy was feeble. Not until the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 was there anything else to take its

place. And when Indian public opinion did gather enough strength to express itself forcefully, it came up against British national sentiment.

Conversely, every Briton in India was considered to be a representative of the British nation. Further, the extinction of the Company's trading monopoly had seen the rise of the big commercial houses of Calcutta and Bombay which without the expansionist activities of the Company would have assumed considerable influence over the Government—and it must be remembered these were intimately connected with the British Press in India. Newspapers connected with these concerns were becoming properties, with equipment and even staff brought from England. Tension and even conflict between the Government and the British Press in Calcutta followed Buckingham's entry into journalism and continued after he had been shipped out until the Press laws were moderated. But the relations between officials and Britons connected with newspapers were generally friendly, enough at any rate to smooth out most troubles. With the loss of its trading monopoly the Company's servants would, under settled conditions, have lost their attitude of superiority towards British business. This process was first held in check by the military excursions and later reversed by the transfer of power to the British Crown which conferred a special status on Company servants who had turned officials. The Mutiny served to emphasise the dependence of British business on the administrator by destroying the atmosphere of peaceful progress which, if it was an illusion, was an illusion publicly fostered by the Government. For, as W. H. Russell in *My Indian Mutiny Diary* pointed out, the discipline in the Indian army was the one subject on which British officers suppressed their real opinions. "It was the 'mode'," writes Russell, "an officer who dared tell the truth, would be persecuted, hunted down and ruined. I am assured, in the old days, a Queen's officer who ventured to express an opinion that the discipline of a sepoy regiment was not perfect, would be insulted till he was forced to fight, and then had a host of enemies ready to put him under the sod with a bullet, or to stab him with their pens in the Indian press, which was quite dependent on the services, with few exceptions, of volunteer writers and correspondents."

The broken faith of the Indian soldiers broke the loyalty of British officers and the swing was to the other extreme where every Indian was feared and hated. The propaganda of the Press which

was fed by the authorities succeeded so well that the non-official Englishman forgot that he had been lulled into a false security by his own people, and joined in the racial war. It is a strange irony that even later-day commentators on the misleading information supplied by news-writers to Mughal emperors and the disasters attendant on it should miss the similarity here. For the Mutiny was to start with a revolt in the army and, as is usually admitted now, there was enough in the army to justify discontent. Another curious feature of writings on the Mutiny is the failure to understand the justifiable discontent in various parts of India which had less than ten years earlier come under British rule; even writers who concede that Auckland deceived the Oudh ruler, that Ellenborough suddenly remembered a lapsed clause in Wellesley's treaty with Gwalior to impose his will on Scindia, that Napier himself described the annexation of Sind as a piece of rascality, and that Dalhousie's expansion of power left considerable trouble in its wake, fail to assess their contribution to the revolt which dovetailed into the Mutiny. Again, while it is admitted that the defeats sustained by the Company's forces in the Burma, Afghan and Sikh wars shook the sepoys' belief in the invincibility of the British, little reference is made to the impression created by the savagery resorted to by the English with the warm approval of the British community in India and in Britain. The Mutiny, however, was not significant in its causes to the growth of the Press in India but the aftermath is of the utmost importance. A few sentences from George Trevelyan show the attitude of the British Press:

> The tone of the press was horrible. Never did the cry for blood swell so loud as among the Christians and Englishmen in the middle of the nineteenth century.... Because the pampered Bengali sepoys had behaved like double-dyed rascals, every Hindu and Mussulman was a rebel, a traitor, a murderer; every column teemed with invectives which at the time seemed coarse and tedious, but which we must now pronounce wicked and blasphemous.... After all the crime charged against Canning, was not that he had hindered the butchery, but that his heart was not in the work.

Trevelyan wrote six years after the event and it is refreshing to find so quick a recovery to sanity. His reference to Canning's

attitude marks a judgment that is borne out by the last Governor-General's Press policy. Canning promulgated in 1857 the act for the regulation of the Press which, he explained, he was doing in the interests of security and applying generally to all newspapers, Indian and European. In a disingenuous and misleading address to the Council, he argued that he was acting because of the provocative writings of Indian newspapers and that his remarks did not apply to the European publications. The only offence he found in the English-owned Press was that some passages might be used by others who were capable of "addressing the native ear" for mischievous ends. The act revived the obnoxious provisions of the Adam Regulations.

The Indian language Press was in fact slow in growing. Outside Bengal, Bombay and the North-West Province, there were no journals in an Indian language except those run by Christian Missions. In Madras there were two weeklies and a quarterly in Tamil, one in Telugu, one in Persian and one in Persian and English. These were subsidised by the Government for partly educational and partly political reasons. Early in the nineteenth century Delhi, according to C. F. Andrews, had its first Urdu newspaper published by Maulvi Mohammad Baqir, the press having been brought down from Calcutta. But there is little he says about it. Presumably it was a short-lived enterprise, under the patronage of the Mughal Court. Syed Mohammed Khan, the elder brother of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, is generally considered the first Urdu editor with the *Sayyed-ul-Akhbar*, started in 1837. An earlier effort, the *Oordoo Akhbar*, is usually ignored. The Delhi College put out three monthlies of literary and scientific interest and a political weekly which was pre-censored by the Moulvis of the Arabic Department. The proprietor of the *Oordoo Akhbar* also published a weekly, the *Muzhur-ul-Huq*, which was said to argue the Shia case, presumably in answer to the *Sayyed-ul-Akhbar's* Sunni propaganda. Another publication from the *Oordoo Akhbar* press was a question and answer weekly which prepared candidates for the munsiff's examination and translated the government gazette. And there was the palace weekly which gave news to a limited readership of the doings of the Emperor.

Far livelier appear to have been the newspapers emanating in the North-West Province, mainly Agra. The first of them provided against trouble by obtaining subsidies from five rulers and a merchant with the promise of softening criticism of them. It had no

need of advertising revenue because with monthly sales of Rs. 140 and subsidy of Rs. 100, and modest expenses—Rs. 40 a month—it netted Rs. 200 a month. Munshi Waji Ali Khan was a cautious writer who made his target the newspaper put out by the Agra College which by itself was running into trouble with the Government. The Agra College weeklies cost about Rs. 100 a month, of which Rs. 22 went for the cost of paper. Other centres in the Province repeated the pattern. Several of them in Benares and elsewhere sold about 200 copies to the Government and between 15 and 40 copies to private individuals. Costs ranged around Rs. 60 a month, and the receipts from subscriptions were about Rs. 30. Perhaps the gap was covered by hush-money and the subsidy received from the Government. Officials kept most of these papers alive because they thought them useful. Interesting comparative figures are provided over the years in the different reports on the North-West Province:

Year	*Number of Publications*	*Total Circulation*
1850	28	1,497
1853	35	2,216
1858	12	3,223
1868	19	5,016
1869	26	7,064
1871	39	9,529
1872	45	7,322

The decrease in circulation in 1872 is due to decrease of government patronage. But in later years government purchasing had come down to between 27 and 33 per cent of the total, mostly for distribution in schools.

Mr. Kempson reporting in 1872 expressed himself strongly on the subject of the North-West Province Press. "It is difficult to see the *raison d'etré* of at least one-half of the native journals, but the possession of a press necessitates the employment of the workmen, even though profits were nominal, and then there is hope of government support and some importance attaches to editorship as a profession." He went on to reinforce his thesis with a reference to an article in the Delhi Institute journal. "In the article referred to, the comparatively large number of newspapers published in the North-West Province as compared with

the Punjab is said to be caused by the plan of purchasing some copies for use in schools. The quality of the newspapers, however, is not thereby improved; for the Punjab journals which received less encouragement of this kind, were as good as those in the North-West Province. The contents of the majority are borrowed without acknowledgement, and there is no enterprise in the way of collecting reliable news or publishing original articles. . . . On the other hand, the Government is said to be wise in promoting the circulation of newspapers as a means of creating a taste for reading, observation and inquiry." He concludes, "The public is no doubt not yet alive to the advantages of a free press, and is not accustomed to independent expression of opinion or free comment on the acts and orders of the ruling power."[1]

While this complaint about the uselessness of the North-West Province subsidised language Press is perennial, the Rev. J. Long who was a champion of Indian language journalism maintains that attention to their contents would have warned the authorities of the Mutiny. But in 1848 an editor was criticised in the annual report for publishing a two-edged satire on the British leaving India, for writing on widow remarriage and for using incorrect expressions in arguing about the relative merits of Lucknow and Delhi Urdu; and in 1852, an editor was hauled up for complaining against the local administration and another was sentenced to two months imprisonment for libelling a tehsildar, and both were condemned in the report for the year for "misusing the editorial chair." The Mutiny certainly did not make the Press of the North-West Province more enterprising or critical but "rustics came a long way to have the newspapers read to them," observes Mr. Kempson; and the Rev. Long places the readership of the Bengali newspapers at 10 readers for every subscriber.

We turn next to the state of the Bengali Press. Here we find a livelier pattern as befits the capital of the British in India, and it is well to begin with Long's analysis of the Calcutta Press as a whole: "The English newspapers in too many cases cherish the spirit of antagonism of race (some English editors freely lavished abuse on the Natives). Yet during the Punjab War and the Rebellion, the Native Press, though viewing affairs more from an oriental than an English standpoint, has maintained on the whole a moderate tone. . . . We have frequently observed with Natives that read English newspapers a feeling of indignation against Europeans

which does exist only in a modified degree amongst Natives whose reading is in vernacular channels." He was a great champion of the Indian language journals which, he urged, gave a picture of the issues that were warmly contested in Hindu society, of the grievances of the people, of the disadvantage of having a foreign language as the language of the courts, of the atrocities of indigo planters and of the blunders of young magistrates. Commending the correspondence columns as well, Long referred also to reprints of details of crime in England "to show that there are faults with the English too." Bengal had seen a hundred newspapers between 1818 and 1855 but most of them were short-lived. In 1853-54, there were 19 newspapers in Bengali (two of them missionary publications) at Calcutta; there were mission papers spread throughout the province—one in Cuttack, one in Assam, one in Tenasserim and Martaban, and eight in the lower provinces, of which two were missionary journals. The 19 newspapers commanded a combined circulation of 8,100. Mr Long gives the record of all newspapers in Bengali till 1858; the list makes interesting reading:

Newspaper	*First Pub-lished*	*How Long Continued*	*Publisher/Owner*	*Monthly Price*
Bengal Gazette	1816	1 year	Gangadhar Bhattacharjea	Re. 1/-
Sumachar Durpan	1818	21 years	J. Marshman	Re. 1/-
Sungbad Kaumudi	1819	33 years	Tarachand Dutt & Bhubani Bhattacharjea	Re. 1/-
Sumachar Durpan	1822		Bhubani Bhattacharjea	
Sungbad Timur Nasak	1826	10 years	Kristo Mohundas	
Bangdoot	1830	16 years	Nilratan Haldar	
Sungbad Prabhakar	1830	25 years	Ishwar Chundra Gupta	
Sungbad Sudhakar	1831	3 years	Premchand Roy	
Sungbad Rutnakar	1831	1 year	Madhusudan Das	
Anubadika	1831	2 years		
Gnaaneshan	1831	13 years	Diniknarayan Mukherjee & Rassik Mullick	
Sungbad Suba Rajendro			Dulabchandra Chattopadhyaya	
Purnachandradaya	1835			
Bhaskar	1837		Shrinath Roy	
Rasaraj	1838			

Mr. Long's list is far from complete but it covers the important newspapers of the time. They were mostly divided over the question

of Hindu social practices; the *Prabhakar* and the *Purnachandradoya*, the *Sumachar Chandrika* and the *Sungbad Timur Basak* being orthodox, and the *Kaumudi*, the *Bhang Doot* and the *Gyan Auneshun* belonging to the reform group. Circulations varied but at one time the *Bhaskar* sold 700 copies, having readers in the Punjab and even in England. Its energetic editor, Shrinath Roy, was beaten up by clubs and confined in a dark room by the Raja of Aundhal's hired men for criticising the Raja but he escaped and successfully prosecuted the Raja. The orthodox newspapers were more widely read but the strength of the reformers can be gauged by the speed with which Iswarchundra Vaidyasagar's Widow Remarriage Bill was passed into law, being introduced in the Council in October 1855 and passed into law in July 1856. The first Hindi newspaper, the *Oodunt Martand* was launched in 1826 but the owner came up against difficulties with his potential readers far from Bengal and the high postal rates. Failing to obtain relief, he closed down soon but the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* filled its place, finding favour with the Government.

We turn last to Bombay for information about the regional language Press. Elphinstone put up a strong note in support of Canning's pleas for repressive powers. But it was more because Elphinstone had always been for control of the Press and his earlier bias was strengthened by the Mutiny fever, than because the Bombay Press gave him any trouble. The Marathi Press was small but significant at the time of the Mutiny. It had been launched by the educationist, Bal Sastri Jambhekar, who established the first Anglo-Marathi fortnightly in 1832, the Marathi monthly, *Dig Durshan* in 1840, and helped to promote a weekly, the *Prabhakar* (1841) and the monthly *Upadesha Chandrika* (1844). Jambhekar himself set the best traditions of Maharashtrian public life by refusing to indulge in personalities and steering clear of controversy. The *Prabhakar* under his student and friend, Govind Vithal Kunte, earned a name for independence. It was open to the reformers and Sardar Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh was a frequent and prominent contributor. The *Upadesha Chandrika* conducted by another disciple, Morabhat Dandekar, defended Hinduism against missionaries who ran their own Anglo-Marathi weekly, *Dnyanodaya* (1842). A Marathi newspaper was conducted for a few months in 1840 by Suryaji Krishnaji—the *Mumbai Akhbar*. The other publications were:

Year	Newspaper	Publisher/Owner	Frequency	Place of Publication
1843	*Dnyan Sindu*	Vireshwar Sadashiv Chhatre	Weekly	Bombay
1849	*Dnyan Prakash*	Krishnaki Trimbak Ranade	Weekly	Bombay
1852	*Vartaman Deepika*	V. B. Gokhale	Weekly	Bombay
1852	*Vicharalahari*	K. S. Chiplunkar	Fortnightly	Poona
1853	*Dhoomketu*	G. V. Kunte	Weekly	Bombay

There was a strong educational bias in Marathi journalism and these journals were largely concerned with conveying to their public progressive ideas from the West.

Gujerati journalism, unlike its Marathi counterpart, started as a commercial venture. An early English journal, the *Bombay Courier*, had advertisements in Gujerati from 1797. Between 1822 and 1850 several ventures had been attempted by Parsi journalists, of which about five outlasted the Parsi calendar controversy. The *Mumbai Samachar* and the *Jame-Jamshed* attained permanency, the latter catering to the Parsi community. In the 1840's, some five newspapers were launched which had an average life of about one year; two others which lived for some sixteen years between 1832 and 1856—the *Mombaina Chabuk* and the *Doorbin*. In 1851, Khurshedji Cama started the *Rast Goftar* under the editorship of Dadabhai Naoroji because the existing journals were either commercial ventures or were felt to be too timid to press the cause of reform among the Parsis. Cama also launched the first women's journal, the *Stri Bodh*, in 1857. The great reformer, Karsondas Mulji, who was a frequent contributor to the *Rast Goftar*, in 1852 launched the *Satya Prakash* in order to urge Hindu reforms. It is interesting to note that Dadabhai Naoroji who with the energetic Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee was a student of Jambhekar, came to journalism through educational reform; and that Karsondas Mulji himself was a product of the Elphinstone Institute. This Institute had formed the Students' Scientific and Literary Society in 1849 and its Gujerati associate, the Dnyan Prasarak Mandali, a year later. These two societies organised meetings, lectures, debates, essay contests and even educational classes for women. In all their activities, the students of the Elphinstone College as it was later named had the support and guidance of their English professors and of Jambhekar who was regarded highly by his English colleagues. While Shapurji Bengalee devoted himself to education, Dadabhai

Naoroji spread his activities over the whole field of religious and secular reform.

In Ahmedabad and Surat, Sir Alexander Kinlock Forbes of the judiciary played a leading part in promoting journalism. In 1849, the Gujerat Vernacular Society launched the *Vartaman* edited by an employee of the Society; in 1854, an ex-member of the *Vartaman* staff set up the *Shamsher Bahadur*. But both had to close down. A monthly magazine was also run in Ahmedabad for some years, first by the Vidya Vardhak Mandali and then by the Vernacular Society. Forbes was transferred to Surat because the Bombay Government disapproved of the critical tone of the *Vartaman*, and he promoted the *Surat Samachar*, a bi-weekly which lived for a short while. Surat had at the time also a publication devoted to prohibition, the *Parhejgar*.

Thus not only in the pre-Mutiny period but even for years afterwards, the main interest of the language Press in the Bombay Presidency was social and educational reform. The years 1832 to 1853 were dominated by Jambhekar and his associates and students; from 1853 to 1870, the crusader Karsondas Mulji dominated the field; the Hindu reformers of the Prarthana Samaj (the Bombay version of the Brahmo Samaj) next filled the gap; and between 1884 and 1891 the campaigner Behram Malabari absorbed the attention and energies of Indian journalists whether reformist or orthodox. Karsondas was a practical reformer whose sympathies were readily won by the sufferings of the Hindus; Malabari too was moved by actual conditions. Neither sought the help of sastraic interpretation for the reforms they advocated. Both were in close touch with the people. Karsondas advanced from advocacy of widow remarriage and the education of girls to challenging the ways of the autocratic priests of his Vaishnava-Vallabh community; Malabari organised a countrywide agitation for mitigating the evils of child marriage, and in doing so resorted to the English language, realising the importance of it as an instrument for all-India propaganda. Both of them were warm admirers of everything English: While Karsondas's enthusiasm for England and the English did little more than create personal difficulties for him, Malabari's fervour created an early rift between him and the Ranade group of reformers which took some time to heal. At the time of the Mutiny, Karsondas was engaged in writing on Hindu social reform for a number of journals and in editing his *Satya Prakash*.

He was involved in controversy with the religious heads of his community, which was soon to bring on personal attacks, ex-communication and a libel action that cost him more than the damages he was awarded.

From the Indian language Press which is thus as a whole absolved of the charge of racialism, we turn to the English newspapers of the time. There was only one newspaper owned by Indians and that was the *Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette* which had passed into the hands of Dwarkanath Tagore. But it was edited by an Englishman. The *Friend of India* was conducted by Meredith Townshend whose writings on the Punjab War and the Mutiny had excited great interest, and led to the first warning under the Canning regime being administered. The *Englishman* which was built up by J. Stocqueler on the ruins of the *John Bull*, had passed into the hands of indigo planters; edited at the time of the Mutiny by Walter Brett, it distinguished itself for its intemperate attacks on Canning. The English editors were excused on assurances being given by the proprietors, and the only English newspaper whose licence was revoked was the *Bengal Hurkaru* which suffered this ordeal for a time: several Bengali newspapers were dealt with under the new Act. In Bombay, Dr. George Buist of the *Bombay Times*, who had been away in England during the Mutiny, roused Indian sentiment by leading the English Press in a cry for reprisals. The Government did nothing to restrain him, but a shareholder of the owning company, Nowroji Furdonji, objected and Buist on refusing to moderate his language was dismissed.

A review of the facts, therefore, reveals that the fears of the Government about the Indian-owned Press were not based on reality; that the protection required was from the provocative writings of the British newspapers in India; and that the concessions made to the British community by the authorities in India, in the policy declaration of Lord Canning and in the practical implementation of that policy, betrayed a weakness and bias which boded ill for the healthy development of public opinion. The next two decades saw a rapid advance in the growth of the newspapers, both English and Indian, and a widening of the gulf between the two sections of the Press.

CHAPTER VIII

The British Press in India

> I believe that to a man the intelligent, cultivated, and influential classes—while deprecating its occasional vulgarity and extravagance—value their vernacular press and highly price its liberty, for the same reasons which actuate their European fellow subjects in the same interest; they do so under stronger incentives and apprehension than the latter. I am, therefore, satisfied that the hostile measures to which Mr. Eden would invite the Government and the Legislature would tend to extend and aggravate the disloyalty and alienation they are expected to mitigate.
>
> —W. ROBINSON

THE military operations of the East India Company between 1835 and 1850—the Afghan War, the annexation of Sind and the Sikh Wars—shook the Indian sepoys' belief in the invincibility of the British. The Indian Mutiny destroyed the confidence of Indians in the greater humanity of the British; at the same time it made Britons feel convinced of their superiority over the Hindus and Muslims, and gave them a sense of isolation in India. Natural as this was in the light of what had taken place, it produced a sense of racialism. In social reform there was considerable reluctance to interfere with Indian practices, particularly as military officers contended that the Mutiny won a certain amount of support from Indian fears of British interference in religion; at the same time, the evangelistic mood which had possessed Britain some decades earlier and had presented itself first in a hopeful manner and later in 1857 in a distorted form in India, persuaded the British that there was something wrong with a people who met the truth but failed to embrace it. The faith in education as a means of reforming the Indian was no longer so optimistically held. The Indian Press far from being regarded by the authorities as an instrument of communicating ideas of progress to the people came to be regarded with suspicion; and the organs of progressive opinion being the advocates of change were specially suspect. Moreover, these progressive journals were edited by men who had studied British political writings which were more concerned with limiting the authority

of governments than with administration itself. This naturally was an added embarrassment to the bureaucrat. Metcalfe and others who after him pleaded for government encouragement of official participation in journalism with a view to guide Indian opinion, were not quite wrong. But Metcalfe also saw that knowledge cannot be kept back from a people, and he was not prepared to perpetuate the restrictions on the diffusion of knowledge in the interest of British domination being perpetuated.

Lord Canning's mild administration and painstaking fairness served to postpone Indian reaction to all this. But Canning's Press policy betrayed a bias in favour of European editors which was confirmed in its actual implementation. Though the Press Act was only valid for a year, it was a revealing experience. The only English language newspaper to suffer was the *Hurkaru*; but a dozen other Bengali journals were affected. The Queen's Proclamation on the assumption of sovereignty, framed in imaginative and generous language, roused new hope, and being difficult of anything but gradual implementation soon gave rise to disappointment and disillusionment when British administration in India lagged behind the promise and British opinion in India expressed itself horrified with even the small reforms proposed. Slowly Indian opinion was forming and, though the reformers put up a gallant resistance, slowly they saw the ground slipping under their feet until opinion formed itself around reactionary forces. But the period saw a national awakening.

We are entering now on the era of the great national newspaper. First of these were the British newspapers. Stocqueler going from Bombay to Calcutta had taken over *John Bull* and converted it into the *The Englishman*. Stocqueler left in 1842, giving the paper over to the indigo planters. After many changes the *Englishman* came into the possession of J. O'Brien Saunders who was a determined man, insisting on formulating its policy regardless of who was the editor. The editor who managed best with him was Furrell, a man of great literary gifts but little inclined to the routine of journalism. But under him the *Englishman* continued the conservative policy of *John Bull*. Robert Knight had come out to Bombay as Editor of the *Bombay Times* when Buist wrote himself off the job. He had come to India as the agent of the firm of Cutler Palmer and Company and his writings in the *Bombay Times* had led the owners to make him acting editor during

Buist's year of leave in England. Knight wrote with balance and moderation in an emotionally charged atmosphere. When Buist gave way to the prevailing mood, Knight was offered the editorship. Buist went on to edit the *Bombay Standard* started by Scotsmen in Bombay. In 1861, Knight brought about the merger of the *Bombay Times*, the *Standard* and the *Telegraph*, changed the name to the *Times of India*, explaining that Bombay was already the capital of India and the Press in Bombay should cease to be provincial. He left for England in 1864 but returning four years later he sold out to his partner Mathias Mull. He next started the *Bombay Statesman* which he sold some years later. He moved to Calcutta where he ran a monthly, the *Indian Economist*, became under-Secretary to the Bengal Government in the Agricultural Department and established the *Agricultural Gazette of India*. His criticisms of famine relief measures were published in both journals. The propriety of government servants associating with newspapers was once more raised and Knight resigned in 1874. In January 1875 he founded the *Indian Statesman*. In September it assumed the simple title of the *Statesman*. Knight had the support of 24 Calcutta merchants and the backing of Trilokya Nath Chatterji, manager of the Paikpara Raj Estate. Where its rivals, the *Englishman* and the *Indian Daily News*, sold at four annas a copy, the *Statesman* began as a one-anna newspaper.

Journalists in the middle nineteenth century began to interest themselves in a wide range of subjects. But even for his times, Robert Knight was strikingly versatile. He was more than a journalist. In an interesting memorandum, he listed the services he had rendered—mostly through the *Times of India*. Among the causes promoted by him were: The Stranger's Home around 1862 to take care of the numerous loafers and poor destitute Europeans in Bombay—"it was I who conceived the idea of it, opened the Home, organised the Society, and conducted the Secretaryship for some months;" the Indo-British School to which he directed the practical philanthrophy of a grateful merchant whose income tax he had reduced; the resuscitation of the Bank of Bombay; the creation of the Bombay Port Trust; the adoption of the Tulsi pipe scheme for supplying water to Bombay; the awakening of public opinion for improving civic health and reducing the high death rate of Bombay; checking the unrestricted levy of the house tax; imposition of town duties in spite of strong opposition; preventing the formation of a

rival association to the Chamber of Commerce; the reduction of postal and telegraphic charges; and the remedying of "many private wrongs which I have made my own." "Men come to me," wrote Knight, "almost by an instinct when they think they have been wronged. They know that if I am convinced I shall certainly try to help them and not readily get tired in their behalf." He disclosed that the Registrar of the Bombay High Court and Sir Alexander Grant were both "on the staff of the *Times of India* upon a regular monthly salary;" adding that in 1863 "Mr. Thomas Anstey moved the Bombay High Court to commit me for contempt of Court for an article written in the *Times of India* by Mr. Tucker of the Bombay Council."

It was not only Knight who had a high opinion of himself. In 1864, when Knight left for England, he was presented with an address and a purse of nearly Rs. 100,000. Bombay commerce was passing through a boom phase and Knight had been closely associated with several of the leading merchants. The Governor of Bombay, Sir Bartle Frere and the Chief Justice, Sir Raymond West, associated themselves with the testimonial. The address pointed out among other things:

> You devised means whereby information was gained from every quarter of India. You enlisted able pens. You presented us almost for the first time with an adequate and exhaustive discussion of topics, lying beyond the limited range of the life and experience of residents in the Presidency towns. You thus raised the organ you conducted to a position of influence analogous to that of the great journals of Europe. You excited a wholesome rivalry amongst your brother journalists. You introduced a policy of wholesome liberality. It is not too much to say that it is in a great measure owing to your example and exertions that the Press of India now rests on a broad basis of enlightenment and ability which makes it worthy of the great interests with which it has to deal . . . . It was by the attracting influence of an honest, lofty and generous policy that you contrived to draw around you that phalanx of able and thoroughly informed writers who made the *Times of India* arbiter in nearly all the great questions of public policy that have been controverted for some years past.

On the same day, an address was also presented to Knight by the

editors of the Marathi and Gujerati newspapers and of the monthly periodicals of Bombay, enumerating his services to stop land-resumption proceedings, to plead the cause of the indigo-cultivators, to commend the mitigation of taxation, to help the progressive movements characteristic of Bombay, and to encourage the Indian language Press.

Knight invested a good part of these funds in purchasing a coffee plantation in the Madras Presidency. Knight was able to leave his plantation in safe hands but he had trouble with the *Times of India.* He chose as his successor a Rev. Francis Gell, acting Chaplain at Kirkee, who had taken three years' furlough. Gell, however, was not on the best of terms with the Bishop, and the appointment was condemned as improper for a clergyman. The Bishop of Bombay sought to persuade Sir Bartle Frere of this and he was able to cite writings in the *Times of India* in support of his thesis of impropriety. One of the members of the Bombay Council thought that a servant of the Government should be required to "cleave to it" and that he should not try to serve at the same time the "Mammon of a daily newspaper." Yet neither the Bombay Government nor the Secretary of State for India to whom the correspondence was referred, thought fit to interfere with Mr. Gell's editorship. But Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, ruled that government servants civil and military, whether in service or on furlough, should not take up journalistic work without the express sanction of the Government. Gell left in December 1864, after holding the acting editorship for over seven months, and after Gell, Louis Jennings of the London *Times* carried on until William Martin Wood was sent out by Knight to edit the *Times of India*. Knight himself returned in early 1868 after an absence of nearly three years which he devoted to advocating Indian causes in England. He had intended to start a journal in England but the great crash of 1864-65 which involved several leading business houses in Bombay and England, cost him a fortune. Knight lost Rs. 50,000 which he had deposited in the Bombay Bank and a considerable amount in England. He devoted himself to personal contacts and among others Henry Fawcett was interested in his views on Indian economic problems. Knight convinced the British Government that extension of the Permanent Settlement would be a mistake and secured a reversal of policy. A short visit to Bombay in 1866 found the city involved in the worst crisis with several old families facing ruin and Sir Bartle

Frere earnestly pursuing a policy of building Bombay into a magnificent town. Finding that nothing could be done in Bombay, he returned to England to force the Government to buy back the foreshore land. A share holding company had been formed to invest in real estate with a view to developing Bombay. This company, the Elphinstone Land Purchase Company, forced by the depression that had seized Bombay, was about to make a further call on its shareholders which would have meant great hardship. To avoid this, the Government at last in August 1867 bought back the lands, reimbursing the Company to the extent of its capital outlay.

Knight had his detractors and they were not without influence. The *Bombay Gazette* had secured the services of J. M. Maclean, editor from 1864 to 1880, who was a fierce controversialist. All the arguments advanced so forcefully by Knight were answered with equal force by Maclean. He too had the cooperation of officials, of professors of the Elphinstone College and of leading businessmen. Though Maclean was not appreciative of Indians, he had carved a place for himself. Maclean gave up journalism for a political career, becoming an M. P. in 1880. But he laid the conservative foundations of the *Gazette*, supported the Government and on most issues offered an influential outlet for the critics of Knight. The two newspapers maintained a high literary standard and the association of college professors with both helped to maintain controversy at a civilised though ferocious pitch. Unlike the *Times of India* which was owned by shareholders during several periods of its life, the *Bombay Gazette* was a proprietorial concern where the owner was also the editor until 1906 when a company bought it. The *Times*, in fact, in its earlier incarnation had several Indian shareholders who held the majority holding from 1850 to 1859 when Knight took over their holdings. There were other avenues for business and the commercial community did not consider it necessary to own a newspaper. The Parsees of Bombay exercised considerable influence on the newspapers until the 1860's when the interests of editors began to widen and Indian events were more prominently discussed. The *Bombay Gazette*, the earlier production, languished because it had pursued a policy opposed to the community and to its leaders. It had condemned the election of Maneckjee Cursetjee Shroff to non-resident membership of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1835; and had been sued by him for defamation.

(It had been convicted in 1838 of libelling John Malcolm of the Indian Navy and its editor sentenced to imprisonment and fine.) In 1839, it commented on the conversion of two Parsees to Christianity supporting the missionaries and lost its Parsi subscribers. In 1840, when Shroff was elected to membership of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, it had written that before being elected Shroff had given an assurance that he had not signed the Anti-Conversion Memorial. For all this, it lost its Parsee readership and this was a decisive factor in the end of the first *Bombay Gazette*.

In 1858, the initiative of a Parsee shareholder had driven Dr. George Buist from the editorship of the *Times*. But in 1859, the Parsees surrendered their control, immediately after making their influence felt. Presumably this was as a mark of confidence in Knight. Knight, however, took Mathias Mull, a gentleman interested in the theatre and particularly in Shakespeare's plays, as his partner. Mull was susceptible to the conservative Europeans in Government or in business; and he intrigued with them to throw out Knight not only from the editorship of the *Times of India* but also from Bombay journalism. Knight was charged by his partner, Mull, with privately selling the *Times of India* telegrams before publication to William Sims, proprietor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, for Rs. 4,000. Mull was an awkward collaborator: he took up his residence on the premises of the *Times of India*, instigated and had published in that paper attacks on Knight, and finally in a settlement reached out of court drove Knight out of Bombay to Calcutta. There is some mystery about the event because Knight never fully explained the case. But news-pilfering was no uncommon thing in those days when the English papers copied freely and unashamedly from one another and the Indian newspapers used Reuter messages without acknowledging or subscribing to them. The incident is significant. In a similar predicament, Maclean who had launched the *Saturday Review* and found his financiers revolted by his writings, secured full control because the shareholders who opposed him were willing to make a free gift of their holdings if he would agree to announce in the *Review* that their connection had ceased. Maclean was, after all, a staunch supporter of the British Government; his criticisms of the British merchants and industrialists might on occasion have been trenchant. Yet he and they accepted certain basic assumptions relating to the conduct of Indian affairs, the chief being that it should be in the British interest. Robert Knight

who questioned the fundamentals of British policy, was a very different proposition.

Knight believed that the leadership of the Indian Press was passing to Bombay which was commercially developing faster than Calcutta. But being forced into silence in Bombay he was drawn to Calcutta. Lord Mayo was anxious to secure his services for the Government, and he served for a time in the Agricultural Department, editing the official *Agricultural Gazette of India* and the subsidised monthly *Indian Economist*. He ran into difficulties when he supported Sir George Campbell's famine policy against the policy of Lord Northbrook, the Governor-General, and his financial adviser, Sir Richard Temple; and when Sir Richard succeeded Sir George as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Knight knew that he had to make his choice between government service and journalism. When the Government ruled that servants of the Government should not be connected with newspapers, Knight's new venture, the *Statesman*, had been well launched and the *Friend of India*, the Serampore missionaries' journal, had been bought over by Knight and brought to Calcutta. Knight, when the two newspapers merged two year later, was particular that the name "Friend of India" should not die out. The *Statesman* from the start sold at one anna, as against the four annas of the *Indian Daily News* and the *Englishman*, its two rivals. Its candour and impartiality gave it the leadership of the Anglo-Indian Press in the capital—as Calcutta then was. Knight also introduced the Sunday newspaper with its short feature articles and variety. The policy he followed was that of bringing Indians and Britons together; his editors after him were tentatively radical. Knight's contribution to journalism is distinctive for several reasons: As a prominent public figure in the life of two Presidencies, he did much to awaken national thinking on all-India lines. He bridged the gulf between the past and the future by rousing Anglo-Indian journalists to consider Indian subjects. Like Silk Buckingham a generation earlier, he promoted the critical spirit towards the Government in Indian writers. He was the first journalist to understand the place of government advertising in promoting sober comment. And he was one of the last English journalists who combined professional competence with public activities; and among the last two editors of the English-owned Press in India who believed that they owed more to their public than unfailing support of the British

Government in India. Robert Knight like J. M. Maclean entered Bombay journalism when he was in his twenties. However, he was fifty years old when he launched the *Statesman* in Calcutta, with nearly five years' experience of government service and the benefit of intimate friendship with British Radical leaders like John Bright and Fawcett.

In Allahabad, during this time forces were at work to establish a services newspaper. Sir John Lawrence, perturbed at the criticisms of the Indian Press, had been pressing for an official organ. Five years later (1869) Lord Mayo again raised the point in London. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad was a partial answer to this demand with the closest ties with officials. The *Pioneer* which prided itself on having advance information about government policies, was followed in 1872 by the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore which swallowed up several other journals—the *Mofussalite* of Agra, (1845); the *Lahore Chronicle*, (1846); the *Punjab Times*; and the *Indian Public Opinion*, (1866)—with the more modest objective of championing the services. The promoters of the *Lahore Chronicle* were the senior officials and the *Indian Public Opinion* was sponsored by the younger civilians. The *Madras Times* was a flourishing newspaper which was established in 1860 and eight years later its ex-editors launched the *Madras Mail* as an evening newspaper. Thus the Anglo-Indian (or English) Press was strongly represented by three newspapers in Calcutta, two in Bombay, two in Madras, one in the Punjab and one in Lahore, by 1878. The tendency, further, was for British interests to combine to establish one large daily newspaper in each centre— and more than one in the larger cities—and to eliminate smaller units. This enabled them to achieve better production and import men and equipment from England. In Bombay and Calcutta, the support of the European business community which had grown with the ending of the Company's monopoly of trade, proved an important factor in the growth of the Press. The absence of a corresponding Indian business community in Calcutta gave the Anglo-Indian Press there a stronger position than the Anglo-Indian Press enjoyed in Bombay.

The *Hindu Patriot* was started in 1853 as an English weekly by Girish Chandra Ghosh. It languished for two years when Harishchandra Mukherjee, a clerk in the office of the Military Auditor-General, took it over. Mukherjee was a forceful writer and the *Patriot* grew under his care. Man Mohan Ghosh covered the

indigo agitation in its columns with such effect that the Bengal Government appointed an inquiry commission. After the death of Mukherjee the *Hindu Patriot* passed into the hands of the Hindu reformer, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar who made Kristo Das Pal editor in 1861. Pal held that position till his death in 1884. Vidyasagar also established the *Shome Prakash* under the editorship of Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan. He had a great deal to do with the conduct of the *Tattvabodini Patrika*, the monthly journal of the Brahmo Samaj. In 1861, Man Mohan Ghosh started the *Indian Mirror* with help from Devendranath Tagore as an English fortnightly. The venture was warmly welcomed by the *Hindu Patriot*. Keshub Chunder Sen took over the *Indian Mirror* when the split with Devendranath Tagore came in 1871 ; and he established the *Sulab Samachar* as a pice newspaper. Keshub Chunder Sen whose religious work overshadowed his immense journalistic activity, converted the *Indian Mirror* from a fortnightly into a daily, the only daily of the time to be owned and conducted by Indians. Keshub directly and indirectly did much to create Indian opinion. Apart from his own writings and speeches, it was he who persuaded Dayanand Saraswati of the importance of Indian languages for propaganda work. But in Bengal other forces were gathering strength, and the reformers won their last impressive victory in 1891.

There was only one Indian daily newspaper in the English language and that was the *Indian Mirror* in 1871. But the *Hindu Patriot*, supported by the zamindars of Bengal, was a powerful English weekly; and the *Shome Prakash* in Bengali played an active and vigorous role in politics. The Bengali Press was becoming a powerful instrument, Keshub Chandra Sen directing the *Sulaba Samachar*, pice journal, with its 4,000 subscribers; it was an instrument in the hands of the Hindu reformers. The Indian language Press was fairly strong in Bengal and in Bombay; the Urdu Press of the North-West Province had been practically extinguished after the Mutiny and in the revival that followed, the editors were mostly Hindus.

There was still flourishing a large Manuscript Press which, more violent and less careful than the printed newspapers either in English or in the Indian languages, attracted less notice from the Government. These drew their information from hangers-on and carried the most fantastic rumours. In 1836, Macaulay commenting on the state of the Press in India remarked that the handwritten manuscripts commanded a wider readership than the

Indian language printed newspapers which did not circulate altogether more than 3,000 copies by post. In 1850, Sleeman estimates 65 news-writers maintained by the King of Oudh on a monthly salary of Rs. 3,194. During the Mutiny the British were well aware of the mischief of these manuscript newspapers. Lord Canning's gagging Act provided for these as well as for the printed journals, and a commercial merchant is said to have got into trouble for including political news in his business letters.

As printing became cheaper, the Manuscript Press began to decline but not before imparting much of its irresponsibility to the printed journals that displaced them. The *Shome Prakash*, the *Grambartha Prakashika* (1863), and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* (1868) were powerful weeklies which agitated the cause of the peasants. The first two were champions of the workers on the indigo plantations. Departing from the earlier controversy of social reform, they all three discussed the functions and measures of the Indian Government, offering criticism and advocating greater rights for Indians. In 1870, Keshub Chunder Sen's *Sulab Samachar* and the *Halishahar Patrika* came into existence, the latter being conducted by young students of between 17 and 20 years of age. A number of the newspapers were started in the villages and districts like the *Grambartha Patrika*, the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* and the *Halishahar Patrika*, the last two coming into Calcutta as conditions outside became difficult. The presses were of the most elementary type, and the publisher and editor conducted journals as almost a family business.

There are two things that have to be borne in mind in regard to the Indian language Press: In the first place, they were not financially profitable undertakings. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, for instance, began with the purchase of printing equipment in Calcutta worth Rs. 32; it was worked by the Ghosh brothers themselves; and needed finances were arranged for by means which neither involved the family in borrowing nor lost them the ownership of the press. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* was able to grow out of small beginnings and transfer itself to Calcutta. But this was not the general practice and it was not the working out of a deliberately worked out programme. Most of them had a local interest. Secondly, they were not regarded very seriously either by the Indian community or

by the Bengal Government—much less by the Government of India which then had its capital in Calcutta, and kept a watchful eye on the provincial administration.

Although Canning after the Mutiny had introduced the Control of the Press Act as an emergency measure, both he and the Government in Britain were reluctant to pass any legislation which restrained the Press. In 1860 when the Indian Penal Code drafted by Macaulay in 1837 was adopted, the sedition clause was dropped because it was felt that it might be interpreted as a measure against the liberty of the Press. The British had many doubts about the utility of the measure. The section as drafted by Macaulay had read:

> Whoever, by words, either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representations, attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in the territories of the East India Company, among any class of people who live under that Government, shall be punished by banishment for life or for any term from the territories of the East India Company, to which fine may be added, or with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.
>
> *Explanation*: Such a disapprobation of the measures of the Government, as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government, and to support the lawful authority of the Government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority, is not disaffection. Therefore, the making of comments on the measures of the Government, with the intention of exciting only this species of disapprobation is not an offence within this clause.

In 1849, John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune, Legislative Member of the Governor-General's Council, recast this section into two Sections which read:

> Whoever, by words spoken, written or printed, maliciously counsels the resistance by force of any law or lawful authority, is liable to transportation for life or imprisonment for seven years, and in either case, also to fine.

> Whoever by words, spoken, written or printed, or by signs or drawings, maliciously stirs up any person to disobey the law, is liable to imprisonment for three years, or to banishment, and in either case, also to fine.

This was taken up in 1854. But there was a strong body of legal opinion in India which held that the intended distinction between exciting disaffection and expressing disapproval had not been properly drawn up and that the danger of excessive punishment for trivial offences was inherent in the amended as well as the original version. Both Lord Canning and the Select Committee appointed to consider the Penal Code in 1860, disapproved of this section completely, and it was omitted altogether from the Code.

As a better way of influencing public opinion, a proposal for setting up an official newspaper to propagate the Government view was hotly canvassed from the time of Sir John Lawrence but practical considerations—rousing the opposition of the more influential newspapers and commanding little confidence with the public—prevented the move which was finally abandoned in 1868. Saunders of the *Englishman* had stunned his colleagues on a committee to look into the question by asking what subsidy the Government would pay to compensate the Editor for the loss of his independence in 1866; and in 1868, when the Government approached the *Friend of India* with the offer of a subsidy, Dr. George Smith turned it down.

Lord Mayo on succeeding Lawrence reverted to the subject of amending the Penal Code. In 1870, James Fitzjames Stephen, Legislative Member of the Viceroy's Council, once more submitted a draft of the sedition clause which read:

> Whoever attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.
>
> *Explanation*: Such a disapprobation of the measures of the Government as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government, and to support the lawful authority of the Government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority, is not disaffection. Therefore,

the making of comments on the measures of the Government, with the intention of exciting only this species of disapprobation is not an offence within this clause.

Stephen disingenuously suggested in his statement of objects and reasons that the clause had been inadvertently omitted from the Penal Code. He went on to explain that only those provocations which amounted to abetment of waging war against the Queen would come under the scope of this section. In commending the section, he observed that the Penal Code contained no provision for preventing incitements to waging war against the Queen unless they were followed by open acts of rebellion. Answering those who objected to the severity of the punishment, he remarked that there should be faith in the commonsense of those in authority. And he clinched his argument by pointing to the Wahabi rising in some Bengal districts which had just taken place and for which 26 arrests had been made. And Section 124A was added to the Indian Penal Code. But lawyers were not very happy about the section, anticipating that the section was too vaguely worded, that the explanation allowed too great a loophole and that no Indian jury would ever agree to convict.

Differences between Lord Northcote, Governor-General, and Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, over famine policy in 1873 brought about a stalemate over the sedition laws. Campbell supported by Robert Knight wanted to stop the export of grain as an emergency measure; Northcote opposed this and appointed Sir Richard Temple, his Finance Member, to carry out his famine policy. Robert Knight in the officially subsidised *Indian Economist* attacked the viceregal policy and brought serious charges against Sir Richard Temple. Sir George Campbell retired, and Sir Richard Temple succeeded him. Knight was in no mood to moderate his writing; in fact he denounced the deposition of the Gaekwar of Baroda, Malhar Rao, in the strongest terms. As a consequence, Lord Northcote, failing to force pre-censorship on Knight or to stop his writings, sought the intervention of the Home Government in London. Knight had maintained that government officials were entitled to own or edit any newspapers they liked, that under the existing rules his writings could not be pre-censored and that Lord Northcote had no power to order Knight to stop writing to the Press. The desired clarification was offered in a notification in the

Gazette of India allowing ownership or editorship only on written permission from the Government which could be revoked; restricting contributions to "temperate and reasonable discussion;" and prohibiting unauthorised disclosure of official documents or information; finally in doubtful cases, the Government was to decide whether any engagement with the Press was consistent with the discharge of their duties. Thereupon, Knight founded the *Statesman* which absorbed the *Friend of India* in 1877.

But Sir George Campbell's relations with the Indian language Press were not as happy as his relations with the English newspapers; and here he sought Lord Northcote's intervention on his behalf. The Bengali newspapers found abundant material for their humour in his eccentricities, and Sir George squirmed under these writings. He instituted a vigorous inquiry into the Bengali Press and pressed Lord Northcote for new legislation to protect him; a Government "whose position largely depends on the sort of moral force due to a belief in its unassailable power, can hardly afford to be constantly held up to the contempt of its subjects." In his *Memoirs of My Indian Career*, he has given a graphic picture of his difficulties:

> Then, as ever, we were a good deal troubled by abusive and sometimes seditious attacks on the governing powers. It was then the practice to make a precis of the notable writings of the native press, for the information of government officials and others; and the offensive tit-bits were then carefully reproduced and so given a circulation which they would never otherwise have had. We used to think that such things were not infrequently written in the hope that they would thus be circulated; indeed I have known the writer to call the attention of the compiler of the precis in so many words in a naive kind of way. We found it desirable to discontinue the circulation.

Sir George remarks that "Lord Northcote consulted me about it." The nature of these consultations is not clear. But communications between the two at the time indicate that the Governor-General thought Sir George a little too sensitive on the subject. The exchange occurred over the writings of the *Halishahar Patrika* and the protests of Sir George and his request for a law which would provide for prompt and summary action without the publicity and interest of a long-drawn out prosecution with the possibility of acquittal, seemed

the more amusing as the principal offenders were students aged 17 and 20 years of age. Apparently, since Section 124A excluded the writings of persons whose loyalty to the Government was undoubted, the Bengali newspapers adopted the practice of prefacing their vituperations with effusions of loyalty to the Queen and the British Government. Sir George in one communication on the scribblings of Bengali schoolboys, indiscreetly remarked that they would have no effect on the Bengalis but might disturb the Pathan on the frontier. He also protested against the wide publicity of circulating extracts. Lord Northcote adroitly seized hold of these points, allowed Sir George to stop such circulation but insisted that as writings harmless in Bengal might inflame others, the Bengal Government should do nothing about them without consulting the Government of India. As a matter of imperial policy, the Government of India should be informed of the circumstances and grounds for action and the opinion of the Advocate-General and instructions sought before taking proceedings. Sir George Campbell indicated his dismay at the only result of his representations. Sir George's survey of the Indian language Press in 1876 showed that there were about 38 journals, half of them in Calcutta itself.

Lord Northcote warded off pressure from London by saying that the subject was a very complicated one and that he was submitting a detailed note on it. To Lord Lytton who succeeded him, however, he recommended consultation with Robert Knight on the subject of the Press. Lord Lytton came out when the discussion of the Indian language Press was very prominent in official minds both in India and Britain. Both in India and in England there was a strong sentiment against any control over the Press; only a few thought like this but they commanded attention. Sir George Birdwood reading a paper on "The Native Press of India" before the Society of Arts in 1877 observed that, considering the political and social background, it was commendably loyal. Mr. Arthur Hobhouse (afterwards Lord Hobhouse), Legislative Member of the Viceroy's Council, in a remarkable minute expressed himself strongly against any Press laws, whether directed against the whole Press or the Indian language Press. Sir Richard Temple writing as Governor of Bombay to Lord Lytton categorically remarked that he had not found the Bengal Press disloyal during his Lieutenant-Governorship which he had just laid down. Lord Lytton also sought the opinion of provincial governors; here all but Madras

supported restrictions on the Indian language Press. The Duke of Buckingham, Governor of Madras, drily remarked that the offences complained of were statements of unpalatable truths in strong language. Lord Lytton postponed action on the Indian language Press, and explored other ways of improving the tone of the Press. Opinion was generally averse to setting up an official newspaper. But there had been suggestions for supplying information to the newspapers which would ensure that comment would be informed. Robert Knight in a letter elaborated a scheme for setting up a press bureau, for instituting government advertising in the way of paying for public notices and other material of a commercial nature and for improving Government-Press relations as a whole. Knight charged Lord Northcote with having established a policy of buying support by controlling the supply of information and condemned the policy of discouraging officials from having contacts with the Press. Sir William Hunter took up the suggestion —"ever since the time Mr. Silk Buckingham was deported from India by the order of the Government, relations between the Government and the English Press in India have been somewhat strained and often really embittered"—and helped to set up the Press Commissioner and his office in March 1877. Roper Lethbridge—who had applied or been approached for editing the *Friend of India*—was the first Press Commissioner and C. E. Buckland held the office for a while. Both these men have left it on record that the main interest of the Commissioner was to be the English Press whether owned by Englishmen or Indians. Buckland in fact remarks that the main object was to remove the irritability of the Anglo-Indian Press. By degrees the Bengali journals too came under the care of the Press Commissioner and, when the Vernacular Press Act was passed, the Press Commissioner was also required to keep a watchful eye on the Indian language Press. Lethbridge had an interesting comment to make about the general tone of the Press and the special position of the *Pioneer* before he took up the Commissionership:

> Editors had no means of ascertaining the views and wishes of the Government, there being no such thing as parliamentary debates or the rights of interpolation in Council. Thus, with the best and most loyal motives, editors were entirely in the dark as to the course and significance of public policy, and had

to rely for this sort of information on the merest gossip, picked up in the offices of the Secretaries, or in the drawing-rooms of their wives.

The *Pioneer* alone had, with infinite pains and ability and at a very heavy cost, worked up a close connection with many of the secretaries through the social life of Simla and had for some time a monopoly of the official information to be obtained in this way. Thus the belief grew up with some truth in it, that the Government was mostly responsible for the utterances of the *Pioneer*, and this was extremely inconvenient, for however loyally the *Pioneer* endeavoured to reflect the views of the Viceroy, the latter had, of course, no power to enforce his wishes being set forth or followed. . . . The arrangement also aroused the most violent jealousy on the part of the other great Indian newspapers.

The *Pioneer* and to a less extent, the *Civil and Military Gazette* were thus in a special position which could not be continued with the establishment of the Press Commissioner. The *Statesman*, though Knight had set the ball rolling, was antagonistic to the office. William Riach, who was editing the *Statesman* in Knight's absence, had written denouncing the Press Commissioner's hand-outs as "fatuous flapdoodle" and become involved in argument with the Viceroy; he had made a special point of the *Pioneer* continuing to receive official information in advance. Lytton passed the Oriental Languages Press Act a year later in March 1878—at a single sitting of his Council, forwarding it to the Secretary of State for approval after he had obtained Lord Salisbury's consent to introducing the Bill by telegram. Lord Cranbourne who succeeded Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State for India, communicated approval of the Act, directing the deletion of the clauses relating to pre-censorship as a substitute for furnishing bond and recommending leniency in instituting action so that criticism of officials and measures should not be penalised. In October 1878, the "Vernacular Press Act," as it came to be known, was accordingly modified.

The Vernacular Press Act which was modelled on the Irish Coercion Act of 1870 which provided for seizing the press and confiscating printing machinery, paper and other materials if a warning was flouted, empowered the Government to issue search warrants and enter the premises of any press; and to take other

summary action without going to court. The Government under this law could serve notice on the proprietor that his newspaper had printed seditious matter or incited to felony and follow it up after two days in the case of a daily, and seven days in the case of a weekly, with confiscation if the offence was repeated either in the same newspaper or in any other paper published at the same press by the same proprietor or printer. There was a section in the Irish Coercion Act which left the injured party the right of suing for damages in a Court of Law. The Indian counterpart substituted an appeal to the Governor-General in Council for the suit for damages, the purpose of the enactment being to eliminate the jurisdiction of the Court, and repetition of the offence had to be in the same newspaper in respect of which the notice had been served.

The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* and the *Halishahar Patrika* were mentioned very frequently in minutes as two offending organs which needed dealing with but which would gain considerable publicity and popular favour if court proceedings were instituted. That the Government was considering summary action was well known. Surendranath Bannerji records in his *Nation in the Making* that he had joined a deputation to Lord Lytton to plead for the freedom of the Press; the Viceroy met it the very day that his Council had passed the Act. By a masterly anticipation, the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* pulled itself out of the jurisdiction of the Act by converting itself overnight into an English newspaper. Motilal Ghosh, for many years the brains behind the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, seemed to feel that it was a personal vendetta which Sir Ashley Eden was pursuing against the journal. He remarked that Sir Ashley was bitterly disappointed and expressed his regret at this escape from his clutches. But it is not the whole story. Proceedings were taken out against several Bengali papers for their past writings; what was worse the *Shome Prakash* was served with a notice and rather than continue publishing under the conditions of the law it closed down immediately. Sir Ashley's personal intervention was needed to persuade its proprietor to resume publication, according to Pandit Shivnath Sastri, the Brahmo leader whose uncle, Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan, was the proprietor. The generally accepted view is that the *Shome Prakash* was closed down and the *Navabibhakar* was issued in its place, and that permission to revive the *Shome Prakash* was sought and granted a year later.

The Vernacular Press Act was strongly criticised in India. In

England Gladstone had condemned the Act in Parliament. Lytton whose instincts were for a liberal policy, was stampeded into it by the organised propaganda of the civil servants under Ashley Eden's lead. Eden had maintained that Indian opinion was not attached to the Indian Press, a view which Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore supported when he repudiated on behalf of "all the educated Natives of India" all sympathy with and even knowledge of such writings. In the light of this, the protest meeting at Calcutta proved a revelation to the Government. Surendranath Bannerjee had bought over the English weekly, the *Bengalee*, for Rs. 10, and was playing a leading role in organising the Press. He had formed the Native Press Association and joined a delegation to the Viceroy when he represented the *Hindu Patriot* at Delhi, in 1877. He addressed the protest meeting and in an impassioned speech brought out the weaknesses of Government's policy. He said that the translations were themselves biased and taken out of their context in order to manufacture a case against the Indian language Press. Speaking on the working of the Act, he established that the Lieutenant-Governor himself had instigated action against several journals, instead of allowing magistrates to take the initiative. He contrasted the moderation of Canning's administration of the Press Act in 1857 with the harshness of the Ashley Eden proceedings. The repeal of the Act became a foregone conclusion when Gladstone became Prime Minister and Lord Ripon came out in 1880 as Viceroy of India. And in 1881 the Vernacular Press Act was repealed.

With the Act went the Press Commissionership. A memorial submitted by Indian and British journalists—with only the *Pioneer*, the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Statesman* abstaining—failed to secure continuation of the office. Lord Ripon replied that it was done as a measure of economy and in the public interest. The Press Commissioner's work was delegated to a department of the Home Department and soon the name itself was forgotten. The work of supervising the Indian language Press was relegated to the provincial governments.

Both Surendranath Bannerjee and Motilal Ghose have written of Bengal of those days. Though they do refer to the Vernacular Press Act, Surendranath looks upon it as the starting-point of the national movement while Motilal regards it as the beginning of the

Amrita Bazaar Patrika's accession to national status. There is a great deal to be said for both aspects. But Bepin Chandra Pal in his memoirs has given the most vivid picture of his times. To him we are indebted for the portrayal of the rise of Young Bengal, the awakening of the students and the expression of patriotic sentiment in songs, in plays and in the Press. He speaks of the restraint of the Tattva-bodini Movement and the exuberance of the Bangadarshan School with its flowering in fiction, in drama and in poetry; of the building up of students' associations and the appearance of Surendranath Bannerjee with his impassioned speeches on the Sikhs and on the life and work of Mazzini; and of the fervour which spread through Bengal. And in this setting he gives us the principal writings of the offending Bengali journals. There was much in them to annoy not only Ashley Eden but even Lord Lytton. The *Sadharanee* celebrated Lytton's speech at the Delhi Durbar of 1877 with a plea for his recall; it wrote "a violently pro-Turk article extending over four columns discussing the fall of Plevna in the Russo-Turkish war," the main theme of which was the degradation of losing national independence; it wrote on the place of pledges in politics, pointing out the lost promises of Britain; it specifically stressed Lord Lytton's preferential treatment of the English in the matter of jobs. Naturally the *Sadharanee* "came in for the largest notice." The *Samaj Darpan* wound up in December 1877 because Ashley Eden expressed his dislike of the Bengali Press and the *Bharat-Mihir* extracting the *Darpan's* farewell protested against such an act of abdication. The *Shome Prakash* offered Sir Ashley advice on how to gag the Bengali Press, recommending that he cultivate a sense of fairplay and justice. There were three associations in Bengal—the British Indian Association formed by the landlords with Kristo Das Pal, editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, as Secretary; the India League run by the Ghose brothers of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*; and the Indian Association of which the moving spirit was Surendranath Bannerjee, editor of the *Bengalee*. The British Indian Association was too timid to move into action; besides its patron was Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore who had supported the Vernacular Press Act. The Ghose family was much too busy with the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* to extend their activities into the political field. The Indian Association found its opportunity and in Surendranath it found the man. Surendranath himself, writes Bepin Chandra Pal,

> was the President of quite a number of secret societies, and I clearly remember how he used oftentimes to cite the great popularity of a Russian politician (whose name I cannot call to mind) by the fact that he was the President of as many as more than half a hundred secret societies in Russia. The members of one society did not know the members of the other society. Each society tried religiously to protect its own secrets from all outsiders, and yet this Russian patriot and politician was the head of so large a number of independent secret societies. . . . Though without any serious plan or policy of political action aiming at liberation of their people from the British yoke, these societies were not lacking in seriousness. . . . They were dreamers of wild dreams, but harmless dreamers so far.

As Pal's references to the Bengali Press amply bear out, there was considerable resentment in Bengal over instances of differentiation between Indians and Englishmen. Surendranath—his troubles over the Indian Civil Service examination where he had to move the law courts to get his age rectified, his persecution in the service and dismissal from it, and his not being called to the Bar after working strenuously at it—stood at one end; at the other were cases of Englishmen being leniently dealt with for offences for which Indians were awarded severe punishment. Surendranath, moreover, was a born propagandist. According to his autobiography, half of Hindu Bengal was shaken by the treatment meted out to him, and the other half was too cowed down to express its natural resentment. The Bengali journals and the secret societies had much the same material to brood over. The Vernacular Press Act, and the Arms Act which virtually prohibited Indians from carrying fire-arms, were passed by Lytton; and when the first was repealed, the second continued. The relation between secret societies and banned arms need not be pointed out. More significant was the opportunity provided to the young disconnected members of the secret societies to come together in protest against the Government's discriminatory policy. There had been an earlier agitation when the age limit for the I.C.S. competitive examinations was reduced from 20 to 19 years, but obviously the subject could have little appeal; "public opinion" at any rate was placated by the compromise of constituting the Statutory Civil Service. The Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act, however, were much bigger

issues. It was only natural that the hero of the students, the president of countless secret societies, should be the rallying-point of political agitation. Surendranath, moreover, was deeply inspired by Mazzini's ideas to work for Indian unity and nationalism. He had set about spreading organisations not only throughout Bengal but all over India as well. His tour of the country yielded gratifying results except in Madras. So powerful was the sense of mission with Surendranath that he somehow failed to assess the developments in other parts of India except as they fitted into his picture. But at Lahore, he interested Dayal Singh Majithia to start the *Tribune* and engaged himself in supplying both the machinery and the first editor.

CHAPTER IX

Years of Expansion

> The liberty of the Press is the Palladium of all the civil, political and religious rights of an Englishman.
> —JUNIUS

THE search for "a scientific frontier," the attractions of "Beaconsfieldism" for the Englishman abroad, the organised attempt to make Conservative opinions fashionable in the Indian Civil Service, and Lytton's unpopularity in India made his immediate removal necessary on Gladstone's coming to power. Henry Fawcett by his patient researches into Indian finances had uncovered much to demonstrate that in the partnership between India and Britain the poorer relation had been mulcted heavily. Between the Radicals and the slowly growing Indian intelligentsia, there was a strong bond of sympathy. Calcutta correspondents had reported to Fleet Street the growing division between the Anglo-Indian newspapers and the Indian Press along the party divisions of Britain. When Lord Ripon came out to India, the English Press in Calcutta and elsewhere in India were apprehensive as to what he would do; the Indian newspapers were expectant. It was not lost on India that Lord Ripon was out here with the full support of the British Government and that that Government was a party government disposed to undo much of what its predecessor had done. To the Anglo-Indian, the appearance of the famous Ilbert Bill in 1883—after a series of other measures like the return of Mysore to the Maharaja, the remission in the Budget of several import duties, and the drafting of plans for improving the condition of the peasants and for extending local elective bodies—was a provocation of the first magnitude. The Ilbert Bill, so called after Courtney Ilbert, the member of the Indian Government who introduced it, was a measure suggested by B. L. Gupta and approved by Ashley Eden. It merely provided for the case that there might be no English magistrate in some district to try an English or European accused—a probability even under the Conservative policy of admitting natives to one-sixth of the places in the "covenanted service." But the English in India, whether official or private citizen, looked upon it as an encroachment on their privileges, and rose in angry opposition to it.

The Marquis of Ripon was insulted when he came down to Calcutta from Simla, and a conspiracy was hatched by the highest officials and the European business community to kidnap Ripon and ship him to England, if he persisted in the Bill as it was framed. Government House parties were boycotted and the tension was kept up. It was believed that even Sir Ashley Eden, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was not unaware of the plot. The provisions in the original Bill were whittled down to meet the objections of the European community, and by the Bill as finally adopted in January 1884 sessions judges and district magistrates of Indian origin were entrusted with jurisdiction over Europeans with juries on which at least half the number were Europeans. The leader of the European community made it clear that it was a compromise in order to procure peace. That in some ways the new Act made matters worse than the state prevailing before it added to the piquancy of the position. Districts in which there was no European magistrate were even less likely to have Europeans for jury service. What had been done was the removal of the practical difficulty created by discrimination against Indian members of the Indian Civil Service.

Demonstrations on the occasion of departing governors-general and lieutenant-governors had become fairly common in Calcutta. But differences of opinion on the work of each of these were usually along non-racial lines; even when Lord Canning left, there were Indians, though few in number, who stood out—like Prasanna Kumar Tagore who felt slighted because no important post had been given him by Canning. But Surendranath Bannerjee's organised oposition stopped a farewell meeting for Ashley Eden and feelings had mounted so high between the Europeans and Indians in Calcutta that Lord Ripon's departure was made an occasion by Indians to demonstrate their appreciation of Ripon's government. So impressive were the functions in Calcutta and Bombay that the *Pioneer* wrote a remarkable article entitled, "If it be Real, What does it Mean?"—an unsigned article believed widely to have been written by Allan Octavian Hume. Another occasion for public demonstration was Surendranath Bannerjee's trial for contempt of court, and sentence to two months' simple imprisonment. Bepin Chandra Pal gives the facts in his autobiography. The *Bengal Public Opinion* published a paragraph in 1883 on the conduct of Mr. Justice Norris of the High Court who ordered a Hindu idol to be produced in Court and pronounced that it could not be a hundred

years old. The *Bengal Public Opinion* commented that it was the first occasion when "the presiding deity of a Hindu household had been dragged into Court" and concluded:

> Whether the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta will tamely submit to their family idols being dragged into Court is a matter for them to decide, but it does seem to us that some public steps should be taken to put a quietus to the wild eccentricities of this young and raw Dispenser of Justice.

Taking this cue, Surendranath in the *Bengalee* commented that Mr. Norris was unworthy of the high office and by nature unfitted to maintain its dignity. Though Bhuban Mohan Das, a lawyer and the father of C. R. Das, was the editor of *Bengal Public Opinion*, Bepin Chandra Pal who had come to Calcutta as the tutor of Bhuban's nephews and neices, was since the beginning of 1883 "practically the chief writer on the staff and gradually the editorial function also came into my charge without editorial responsibility." Both during Surendranath's trial and his detention, popular demonstrations took place in which Calcutta students played a prominent part. Lord Ripon's viceroyalty was thus a period of national awakening, and the thoughts that moved the educated classes of Bengal, began rapidly to spread to the rest of India until a national consciousness was developed.

There was one event during these years, however, which though little commented on at the time, was to develop into an important feature of national life. It was about 1881 that Djemal ed Din, the founder of the Pan-Islamic movement, came to India from Afghanistan and had confidential talks with Muslim leaders. Until then educated Muslims had cooperated with Hindus on national issues. But after his visit they began slowly to draw away from the political activities of their countrymen. It prepared the ground —as Sir Syed Ahmad's educational and journalistic work in the North-West was doing but in an emotional and more devastating manner—for the Muslim awakening which was to prove the first obstacle to national unity. While Sir Syed was consciously seeking to create a westernised elite in Indian Islam, this appeal was to Islam itself as an over-riding sentiment. For the time being it was latent. Surendranath Bannerjee who combined an acute political instinct with an astonishing insensibility to the forces behind movements, was

impressed by Sir Syed's cordiality and broad outlook. Sir Syed had started a British Indian Association in 1866 with the idea of maintaining contacts with members of Parliament in Britain; he was constantly urging Indians to express their views frankly instead of nursing their grievances under a hypocritical mask of contentment. Two years after the Indian National Congress was started, he launched the Indian Patriotic Association to counter the Congress which he felt was going too far and too fast. It charged a membership fee of £ 1 to keep out irresponsible elements.

The Urdu Press had virtually disappeared during the Mutiny; as the clouds cleared, there first appeared twelve journals—most of them run by Hindus. Around 1861, there was a revival brought on by the determination of Sir Syed Ahmad and partly provoked by the heretical writings of his publications. Several of them were devoted to scientific and literary pursuits. The centres of Urdu literature—Lucknow, Delhi, Meerut and Cawnpore—had witnessed the horrors of the Mutiny too closely to venture into political journalism. In Calcutta, the English language and Bengali had displaced Persian and Urdu; and postal charges, the uncertainties of transport and the distance of the potential readership had smothered the growth of Hindi journalism. A large number of journals sprang from Delhi, Meerut, Agra, Lucknow, Aligarh and Lahore, mostly weekly and fortnightly. These opened out a new world to Urdu readers. Generally speaking, moderate in tone in political and religious matters, these journals did not hesitate to comment on racial discrimination and the manifestations of anti-Indian bias in the administration. The reformist views of Sir Syed roused Muslim orthodoxy to come out with journals in their turn. Many of the newspapers were personal journals closely associated with their individual sponsors. The main Urdu journals of the period were:

Delhi	Lucknow	Meerut	Lahore
Akmal-ul-Akbar	*Oudh Akhbar*	*Akbar-i-Alam*	*Punjabi Akhbar*
Nasir-ul-Akhbar	*Bharat Patrika*	*Najmal Akhbar*	*Akhbar Anjuman-i-Punjab*
Nusrat-ul-Akbar	*Kaukub-i-Hind*	*Lawrence Gazette*	*Akhbar-i-Aam*
Nusrat-ul-Islam	*Maraqqa-i-Tehzib*	*Shana-i-Hindu*	*Aftab-i-Punjab*
Mufid-i-Hind	*Akhbar-i-Tamannai*		*Delhi Punch*
Khair-Khwah-i-Hind	*Anwar-ul-Akhbar*		
	Oudh Punch		*Rafiq-i-Hind*
Mer-i-Darakhshan	*Mushir-i-Qaissar*		
Safir-i-Hind			
Rekhti Akhbar			
Akhbar-un-Nisa			

Though the efforts of Raja Shiv Prasad of Benares in the middle of the nineteenth century were instrumental in bringing in a common language which could be written in either the Nagari or Persian script, differences of style and expression soon divided the Hindi from the Urdu Press. There were in the early years, newspapers that carried both scripts; there were newspapers in the Persian script, and an early attempt to lithograph the Nagari script—Sheik Abdullah's *Simla Ukhbar* which catered to the neighbouring Rajas—was snuffed out of existence because of its clumsy appearance. Up to 1867, the progress of Hindi journalism was slow—mostly confined to weekly newspapers espousing orthodox religious views and Hindi-Urdu periodicals. It continued to interest itself in social and religious subjects but the entry of Bhartendu Harischandra into the field of Hindi journalism effected a far-reaching change. Harischandra had made his name as a writer before he launched his *Kavi Vachan Sudha* in 1867. He followed it up with the *Harischandra Magazine* (1873) and the *Chandrika*. Other literary figures now emerged and a flow of literary journals came into existence, most of them short-lived. The more notable ones were Balkrishna Bhatt's *Hindi Pradeep*, which was strongly political; the *Bharat Mitra* and Ram Krishna Varma's *Bharat Jivan*. Finally the *Hindustan* in English, Urdu and Hindi, appeared (1884) as a daily, published first from London and then from Kalakankar with the local Raja's support.

In the Punjab too the Indian language Press was till 1880 an offshoot of Hindi journalism. During Ranjit Singh's reign, English missionaries set up a press connected with their mission in Ludhiana and around 1854 the first Gurmukhi types were cast there and the first newspaper was printed by the missionaries to propagate their faith. Munshi Hari Narain as editor and Phiraya Lal as manager launched the *Akhbar Shri Durbar Sahib* which espoused the Hindu cause and sought to win the goodwill of the British, in 1867. But it was with the rise of Baba Ram Singh and the puritanical Sikh "Kuka" movement that the growth of Punjabi journalism commenced. In 1873, the Singh Sabha was founded in Amritsar; but the influence of Sanskritised Hindi continued and the two newspapers in Gurmukhi, the *Sukavya Samodhini* and the *Kavi Chandrodaya* that started issuing before 1880, were nearer to Hindi than Punjabi. The newspapers were printed on litho presses.

A great literary, religious movement started in 1880; the Gurmukhi types were improved and several presses were set up in Lahore and Amritsar, the two big educational centres of the Punjab. Bhai Gurmukh Singh, professor in the Lahore Oriental College, established several journals to advocate the cause of the Singh Sabha—the *Gurmukhi Akhbar* in 1880 and the *Khalsa Akhbar* in 1885. He was also the founder of the *Khalsa Gazette* and the *Sukharawak* and the guide of another great writer, Giani Dit Singh. A deliberate attempt to develop the Punjabi language was made by the Singh Sabha which established a number of journals in Amritsar and Lahore. Some of the journals started under its auspices were, apart from those mentioned, the *Khalsa Parkasak*, the *Gurumat Parkasak*, the *Singh Sabha Gazette*, the *Lyall Khalsa Gazette*, the *Sat Dharma Parcharak*, the *Khalsa Samachar*, the *Widyarak*, the *Punjabi Sudharak*, the *Sudhar Patrika*, the *Sudha Sagar Nirguniara*, the *Bharat Sudhar*, the *Dharma Parchar*, the *Shuddhi Pattar*, the *Amar Kund* and the *Khalsa Naujwan Bahadur*.

Journalism in the South—in Kanarese, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam—was mostly in the hands of missionaries up to 1884. Following the setting up of the *Hindu* (1878), the *Swadeshimitran* was issued in 1882 as a Tamil weekly and became a daily in 1899. K. Veerasalingam Pantulu conducted the Telugu weekly, *Vivekavardhani*, for the propagation of social and religious reform. Venkatratnam Pantulu edited the *Andhrabasha Sanjivini* as a counter to this campaign. In 1886, the *Andhra Prakasika* appeared as the first news weekly in Telugu, in support of the newly formed Indian National Congress. The future of Kanarese journalism still lay before it. The Kannada-speaking peoples were divided between a number of administrations—the districts of Madras, the districts of Bombay, the Southern Maratha Indian States, the districts of Hyderabad State, and Mysore State. Writing of the language problem as early as 1842, Bal Shastri Jambhekar observed:

> There can be no doubt that the Kanarese spoken in the Southern Maratha Country is different from that used in the territory of Mysore, which is generally admitted as the seat of the pure Karnataka language. Like all languages, the Kanarese, on the borders of the above mentioned Province, freely admits the words and idiom of the languages spoken in the countries by which it is surrounded; namely, of Marathi to the North, Telun-

gee to the East, Dravidee to the South, and Mulbaree on the West. This is the reason why the Kanarese of Madras is so unintelligible to the inhabitants of the Southern Maratha Country; and why the languages of both provinces are so widely different from the pure form in which the Kanarese is spoken in Mysore. . . . —The dialect of the Southern Maratha Country is a mixture of Marathi and Kanarese, but from my own knowledge of the language, I feel myself justified in saying that the difference between it and the pure Kanarese is not much greater than that which exists between the Marathi of the Poona district and that of the Southern Maratha Country. The language of the one is polite, grammatical, and pure; and that of the other coarse, incorrect, and mixed up with Marathi. The difference between them, however, is not so very great as to render the language of the one province unintelligible to the inhabitants of the other. In the case of the Madras Kanarese, in which the Government Regulations are printed, the language is too much mixed up with Telungee, and can only be understood with difficulty in this Presidency, but it can be easily shown that the Kanarese of the Southern Maratha Country is not so widely different from the pure standard of the Mysore language, as it is from the dialect into which the Regulations are translated.

It was only in Mysore State that journalistic activity showed itself before 1880, with journals running both in English and Kanarese. The *Desabhimani* of B. Srinivasa Iyengar was one of the earliest efforts but it offended Sir K. Seshadiri Iyer, the Dewan, and the entire printing press was seized by the police and carried away. M. Venkatakrishnaiya—the *Mysore Herald* and the *Vrittanta Chintamani*—and two brothers, M. Gopala Iyengar and M. Srinivasa Iyengar,—the *Mysore Standard* and the *Nadgannadi*—started newspapers in Mysore and then transferred them to Bangalore.

In Western India, Gujerati journalism was developing vigorously on the social and religious front, with a distinct literary bias. The newspapers of that language outside Bombay were printed on the litho press. The *Surat Mitra* started in 1863, changed its name to the *Gujerat Mitra* and is still publishing as the *Gujerat Mitra and Gujerat Darpan*; the *Gujerati* weekly, started as a champion of orthodoxy in Bombay in 1880; the *Desh Mitra* published from Surat from 1873; the *Kaiser-i-Hind* issued as a Bombay weekly

from 1880; the *Kathiawar Times* was established in Rajkot in 1888; the *Prajabandhuj*, renamed the *Gujerat Samachar*, came from Ahmedabad from 1885; the *Sayaji Vijay* published from Baroda from 1895.

Marathi journalism was passing through a quiet constructive period, little conscious of the storms into which it was to plunge. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was just beginning his phenomenal career in Poona and Ranade's authority was unquestioned. Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Mahadev Govind Ranade and older leaders of the Prarthana Samaj dominated the public scene. They were all of them favourable to reform. As a matter of fact, Tilak himself was not opposed at first to social change. He had signed a pledge not to give his daughter in marriage before she attained the age of 12; he had been with Ranade at the tea party in Poona which created a storm because Brahmins had drunk tea with missionaries; and his colleagues in the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* and in the Deccan Education Society were most of them men of progressive views. Tilak in the early years of his public life was guided by Ranade as much as any of the other young men of Poona and Bombay, and throughout his life Ranade entertained the strongest hopes of winning back Tilak. N. C. Kelkar, a later lieutenant and disciple of Tilak, mentions that Tilak even in his journalistic work was influenced by Ranade. Mr. Kelkar's suggestion that Tilak's later antagonism was provoked by the equivocal attitude of the Hindu reformers, does not carry conviction. It seems nearer the truth that Tilak whose reading of Indian history and Hindu scriptures had convinced him that the ends justified the means, was revolted by the cautiousness and meticulous correctness of the Ranade school. Ranade in a series of studies of Indian history which he delivered at successive annual sessions of the Social Conference (from 1890 onwards), has left us a vision of Indian development that is instinct with responsibility and broad understanding. Ranade was very conscious of the differences of custom and thought among Indians and always anxious to reconcile them. Tilak looked at India as a Maharashtrian, and in his most characteristic acts sought to revive the Mahratta spirit. In the clash that was inevitable between two such leaders, the initial success lay with Ranade.

But Tilak found his opportunity in the very cautiousness which had frustrated him. In the raging campaign that Malabari led for the raising of the age of consent, the Parsi reformer, seeing things

from outside the Hindu community, said a great deal which struck Ranade as extravagant. A similar development took place in Bengal when Keshub Chunder Sen took up the cause, for the Brahmo leader too was moving away from the Hindu community. It is significant that Ranade had kept the Prarthana Samaj separate from the Brahmoes because he did not wish to be cut adrift from Hindu society. The same thought led him to protest against Malabari's excesses of speech and writing. But later he gave his full support to the proposed legislation. In the rallying of orthodox opinion, Tilak found his political weapon. He threw his scholarship and energy into the struggle; and there was the immense popularity he had won when he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment on a suit for defamation brought against him by Mahadeo Vasudeo Barve, the Karbhari of Kolhapur.

For an appreciation of this, one has to go back a little to the deposition of Siddik Hossein of Bhopal and Malhar Rao Gaekwar of Baroda. They took place during the viceroyalties of Lord Ripon and Lord Dufferin, and the Bengali Press generally took the stand that after twenty years of consolidation the British power was again seeking to extend its Indian empire. The Baroda incident had been very disturbing to Western India for a variety of reasons. Malhar Rao had succeeded his brother Khande Rao to the Baroda throne in 1870-71, coming out of the prison in which he had been detained by Bhau Shinde, Khande Rao's Minister. Malhar Rao had set about destroying the faithful followers of his brother. By 1873, the Bombay Government began to be perturbed at the way Baroda was going and sent Colonel Phayre as Resident at the Court of Baroda. He pressed the Government of India to interfere and the Bombay Government supported him. The Government of India set up a Commission, recommended very mild action to correct the evils. The Gaekwar was given a "last chance," urged to put his State in order and left free to choose his own Ministers. Malhar Rao responded by selecting Dadabhai Naoroji but without dismissing the older Ministers. The advice to seek advice from the Resident, to effect reforms by December 1875, and the threat that failure to do so would result in deposition added piquancy to the tension. Colonel Phayre seemed to have exceeded his instructions and an appeal from the Maharaja for his removal was under consideration. But Malhar Rao apparently was impatient of delay. In any case, an attempt at poisoning Colonel Phayre by mixing arsenic with his

morning fruit juice was proved, and Malhar Rao's complicity in it was suspected. The Government of India had him arrested and assumed the administration of the State, appointing a Commission of three Englishmen and three Indians, with the Chief Justice of Bengal as President to carry out a State trial. An interesting side-light in this trial was the publication by J. M. Maclean in the *Bombay Gazette* of an editorial accusing a Bombay pleader, Shantaram Narayan, who appeared as junior counsel for Malhar Rao, of trying to influence the Indian Commissioners. Shantaram proceeded against Maclean for libel and Maclean apologised and withdrew his insinuations. Maclean later explained his conduct as induced by a desire to guard Frank Souter, Commissioner of Police, who had given him the information and did not wish his name to be divulged.

There were several matters involved in this episode: Indian States had come to be recognized as the field for aspiring Indians who were precluded at the time from holding high office in British India. The division of opinion in the Commission on national lines added to the perturbation of Indians who feared a resumption of Britain's policy of expansion. The involvement of a Maratha State of the eminence of Baroda touched Maharashtrian sentiment. When a minority administration was set up and Sir T. Madhava Rao was appointed Dewan-Regent with first Sir Richard Meade and then P. S. Melvill as Agent-to-the-Governor-General, the closest relations were established between the Durbar and Residency. The Marathi Press resented this and charged Sir Madhava Rao with being the tool of the British Agent.

More limited in its interest was the Bhopal deposition. Siddik Hossein of Bhopal had been set aside because of treasonable publications and iniquitous land revenue assessment. Sir Lepel Griffin, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, had secured Siddik Hossein's deposition and as a consequence he had come in for furious attacks in the Bengali newspapers. Lord Dufferin, however, followed Ripon's policy of not sanctioning the criminal prosecution of the editors on the ground that it was open for defamed officials to proceed as individuals but that it would harm the liberty of the Press if the Government instituted proceedings and curtail freedom of comment. Sir Lepel resigned after an appeal which asked, "What interest beyond money had the Bengalee Press in Bhopal or Siddik Hossein? They were probably ignorant of its existence until they were paid to denounce Government by the very

man who had been punished and who had unlimited wealth at his disposal. Why do not the same papers denounce the action of the Government in Jhallawar whose young chief has been deprived of powers or in Tonk, where the Political Agents control the Council? For the reason that it has not as in the case of Bhopal been made worth their while to do so."

Whatever the moving impulse in the agitation in the Press, the emotion expressed both in this case and in that of the Gaekwar was fear that the expansionist policy had been resumed. And in the case of Baroda the agitation in the Bengali Press was also reflected in Bombay, specially in the Marathi newspapers. The deposition of Malhar Rao roused opinion both in Bombay and in Bengal, particularly as opinion was divided among the members of the committee of inquiry along national lines. Though the right of adoption was conceded and the administration placed under the veteran Sir T. Madhava Rao who had been Dewan of Travancore and Baroda, Tilak's newspapers pursued a violent campaign attacking the administrator for subserving the interests of Baroda to those of the British. These events had created considerable interest in the affairs of the Indian States, and Tilak took up the question of misgovernment in Kolhapur because the affairs of this Maratha State were of peculiar importance to Poona. Excessive concern led to credulity and not only Tilak but several other publicists believed the charges levelled against the Dewan. What Tilak wrote had been written by others as well, and Mr. Kelkar mentions that it was very much milder than the things that were said in Poona drawing-rooms at the time. At any rate, the letters were established to be forgeries and, though Tilak and Agarkar tendered their apologies, they were sued and sentenced. This could be hardly described as a political offence but the two men came out of jail as heroes. Another case was the Tai Maharaj Case where a young widow was said to have been intimidated and misguided.

Tilak entered the field of Marathi journalism with the idea of breaking the influence of the Ranade school and then extended his activities to opposition of the British Government in every phase of its activities. He succeeded in creating an atmosphere in which every act against the Government and its officials fitted into the picture of resistance to the British, and he used his powerful pen in reconstructing the past and attacking the present. In consistency with his announcement that the ends sanctified the means, he was

indiscriminate in his support and regardless of consequences—personal or national. He created public opinion in Maharashtra, and he found a receptive audience in young Bengal. He claimed to have modelled his journalism on the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* but he lacked Motilal Ghose's mercurial temperament and personal charm which won friends even among his victims, Indian and European. Nor did he, like Motilal, live for the newspapers which he had done much to build up. Tilak was, moreover, also a man of action and his work for hospitals, relief work and education was of outstanding value.

The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, the first of the Indian newspapers to acquire a national status, was making history in Bengal in the late eighties. Lansdowne who succeeded Dufferin in 1889, took offence at the publication in the *Patrika* of a document said to be Mortimer Durand's minute on the state of the Kashmir frontier. Lord Lansdowne conceded that the first two paragraphs were accurately taken but complained that the rest had been altered to impute sinister intentions. Lansdowne pontifically observed that "the responsibility which rests upon those who are ready not only to give to the public documents which they are well aware could not have been obtained except by a distinct and criminal breach of trust, but who are not even at pains to satisfy themselves that these documents are genuine, is a very serious one." The *Statesman* referring to the subject commented that Lansdowne's denial failed to convince and that the errors pointed out were errors due to faulty and hurried copying. Nothing was done so far as the *Patrika* was concerned. The Official Secrets Act which was passed the same year, if it was an answer to the *Patrika's* disclosures, was sedulously presented as a measure to bring Indian law into line with English law. Mr. A. R. Scobie, Legislative Member of the Viceroy's Council, in fact commented that the Act was unnecessary as the English Act which applied to all parts of the Empire also applied to India. But the legislation had been taken up in order to give it publicity and to effect the necessary adaptation to Indian needs. The offences it aimed to reach were the wrongful obtaining of information on any matter of State importance, and the wrongful communication of such information. Mr. Scobie explained that the offence was aggravated, "of course," when committed by a servant of the Government "contrary to his official duty." Even Lord Lansdowne when he linked up the measure with the *Patrika*, did no more than

cite the *Patrika*'s disclosure as an example. He said in a speech:

> It is a matter of notoriety that what is sometimes called the enterprise of the Public Press has of recent years, and not in India only, led to the encouragement of such misconduct. Under such circumstances it would be strange indeed if occasional breaches of good faith on the part of those whose daily duties afford them the means of acquiring official knowledge did not occur. This Bill will give us the power to punish both the parties to such transactions—both the thief and the receiver of stolen goods—and there is every reason to expect that the passage of the measure will have a salutary and deterrent effect.

There was an interesting sequel—not connected with the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* but with the comparatively little known *Reis and Rayyet* edited by Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee. Sir Charles Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, took a rather overzealous view of things. He looked on every thing done or said in official circles as official secrets. Dr. Mookerji had commended the meticulous eye for detail of Sir Charles, citing the case of an incident in the opium department examinations where Sir Charles had looked into a complaint from an unsuccessful examinee against the examiners. Satisfied that the complaint was just, Sir Charles had directed the Education Department to investigate the matter. Sir Charles took offence at this and wrote to Dr. Mookerji asking for the name of the correspondent. Dr. Mookerji replied that he had only reported "bazaar gup" which he had overheard by accident. "I did not ask any questions," wrote Dr. Mookerji, "and indeed gave the impression of not listening. But what I heard was so interesting that unperceived I took it down, filling in the meagre outline with light and shade and colour, and disposing off uncertainties by bold guess-work." Dr. Mookerji's rather flippant disposal of the subject irritated Sir Charles the more. The Lieutenant-Governor promptly issued a notice to his Secretariat staff warning against betrayal of official secrets whether by deliberate correspondence or by indiscreet babble in a public place or private room. It was next the turn of the *Indian Mirror* which had offended by publishing a letter to the effect that the Secretaries of Sir Charles were even worse than he was. Sir Charles at once assumed that the clerks of his Secretariat had been talking and wrote to the Editor magnani-

mously waiving the right of prosecution but warning of the danger of repeating the offence. The *Indian Mirror* protested warmly against the charge of snooping around the Secretariat for secrets. Sir Charles returned now to the *Reis and Rayyet* which had commented on two appointments—the Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation and the Inspector-General of Registration. Unable to resist a sly dig at editorial irresponsibility in Bengal, Sir Charles inquired whether this item had appeared with Dr. Mookerji's knowledge or whether he proposed to plead the same excuse, that it had been inserted in his absence, which had been advanced the previous year in extenuation of a complaint against indecency. Dr. Mookerji was a veteran of the Press and he entered the lists with evident enjoyment. He objected to such frequent communications that added to the responsibilities of the Press in India; he pleaded ill-health as an excuse for the delay in answering the charge; he took up Sir Charles's sarcastic inquiry and observed that his paper was read by respectable ladies and gentlemen and approved by M.P.s in England; he overwhelmed Sir Charles with a wealth of reference to the standards of decency of an age which patronised Zola and Swinburne; and he denied all knowledge of the previous year's offence, of the Lieutenant-Governor's protest and of his own apology. In answer, he was sent a letter forwarding him the references from his paper but no copy of his own reply which he had demanded; instead there was a warning that if such extracts are published, the Lieutenant-Governor would strike off the paper from the list of those supplied to him. Nothing daunted, Dr. Mookerji came back with an exegesis on the difference between the indecent and the disgusting. He had the last word as Sir Charles had confused ideas on the subject and because the letter of protest had never been sent to Dr. Mookerji and therefore had not been answered at all. An example of Dr. Mookerji's style is presented by the following extract from his letter:

> I took good care, according to my light, of course, not to offend, for I am proud of being a gentleman and, while affecting the highest Oriental polish, have always aspired to form my conduct on the highest European models and pitched my life and conversation in the key of the best English society. Even during the general madness of the Ilbert Bill agitation, while dealing in frantic abuses of those who assailed our ladies I never retorted with similar bad manners. My dear friend General Napier Camp-

> bell, who was one of the scarcely half a dozen Europeans who maintained an impartial attitude on the occasion, will bear me out, as on more than one occasion I asked his opinion as a British gentleman of culture and superior refinement of feeling whether I might publish a certain thing without offence.

The exchange is valuable because it reveals the strength and weakness of both the Indian newspaper in Bengal and the Lieutenant-Governor. Sir Charles was of the same calibre as Ashley Eden and his irritation at the constant provocations of the Bengali Press led him into frequent administrative indiscretions. He launched a prosecution of the *Bangabasi*, the first prosecution under Section 124A of the Penal Code, for publishing inflammatory articles. The Chief Justice of Bengal held that the writings were a deliberate attempt to excite ill-will towards the Government but the jury disagreed on their verdict and the case was postponed to the next session. The *Bangabasi* expressed regret and its publisher, editor, manager and proprietor gave assurances of loyalty for the future. There was considerable reluctance thereafter to institute proceedings under Section 124A. Sir Charles used the occasion to have a Native Press Association formed and set up a Native Press Commission to restrict the supply of government news to loyal newspapers. All Indian-owned newspapers, except the *Indian Mirror*, the *Indian Nation* and the *Reis and Rayyet*, joined the association.

The English-owned newspapers had grown in strength, and Indian newspapers in English were slowly coming up. But curiously, while Bengal had a number of Indian-owned papers, Madras even had three—the *Hindu*, the *Madras Standard* and the *Indian Patriot*—and the Punjab had the *Tribune*, Bombay had no Indian newspaper of its own. Pherozeshah Mehta decided in 1888 to revive the defunct *Advocate of India* and he found a ready collaborator in Jehangir Murzban. It was an enterprise supported by Nagendranath Gupta, G. Subrahmania Iyer, Harischandrai Bishandas and B. J. Padshah. It started promisingly but Pherozeshah Mehta soon broke away. The development of politics, economics and social life, however, was so sound that Robert Knight in changing the name of the *Bombay Times* to the *Times of India* had announced that Bombay would soon become the effective capital of India. There was an

independent public opinion which asserted itself on all public questions and the general tone was one of greater responsibility than that shown in Bengal where the division between the British and the Indians seemed to be deeply set. The development of communications had brought Bombay into greater importance and education appeared to be more integrated, with the alumni of the great educational institutions actively working for the spread of schools and special classes.

Disraeli, writing to his sister in 1839, referred to the Indian newspapers as the most amusing thing he had read since the Arabian Nights. This was a fairly common sentiment in England and consequently it affected the communications of correspondents from that country. Communications added to the difficulty of presenting fresh news, both from England and from other parts of the country. In 1843, the *Gentleman's Gazette* which was a daily was able to print extracts from the newspapers of Delhi, Calcutta, Madras about a week in advance of the weeklies and bi-weeklies that served the community. Calcutta in 1862 was about nine days post from Bombay; Madras also 9; Delhi 6; Karachi 7; Agra 5; Bangalore 4. From England, it was about five weeks, from China two months, and from Ceylon 19 days. In 1869-70, the Railways had extended sufficiently to serve the Post Office. The *Times of India* in 1870 carried extracts from Calcutta newspapers that were four days' old; from Madras six days' old; and from Allahabad four days' old. At the same time, telegraphic communication brought terse headline news from Calcutta in 13 minutes; from Madras in 5 minutes; and from Karachi in 2 minutes. It took some 15 hours from Calcutta, under the most adverse conditions.

Postal rates which had been a difficult problem till 1830, received serious attention. In 1854, the uniform postal rate was introduced; in 1860, the use of postal stamps, and concessions to the Press were initiated between 1860 and 1865, until newspapers weighing up to 10 tolas could be posted for an anna. When the Government realised the unfairness to the smaller papers, it responded by reducing the rate to ½ anna for newspapers under 3 tolas. In 1875, the postal rate for registered newspapers was brought down to ½ anna for 10 tolas. The telegraph charges were heavy for a long time, and several delays and mutilations took place. Messages sent via Turkey were never transmitted in the order in which they

were received, and messages by the Russian route were often mutilated as the signallers did not know English.

The Suez Canal, the overland route, steam navigation and the telegraph had brought the Englishman exiled in India nearer to England; the railways and the postal system knit the European community in India more closely and the arrival of European women in large numbers which followed the establishment of more settled conditions, effected the organisation of the European community on the pattern of society in England. While this was happening, there was an inevitable widening of the gulf between the British in India and Indians and a greater sensitiveness on the part of the British to ideas of prestige and position. Since Calcutta was the imperial capital, these factors were more evident there. In Bombay, the tradition of close contacts between the English and Indians was strong. George Buist's rabid denunciation of Indians as a whole had cost him the editorship of the *Bombay Times*, when Nowroji Furdonjee, a shareholder, had voiced the general resentment of Indians. Robert Knight as editor had considerable Indian backing and, when the *Times of India* came into existence as a wholly English-owned newspaper, it kept to the tradition of the *Bombay Times*. Under Thomas Bennett the *Times of India* maintained the closest relations with Indians, several of whom contributed to its editorial columns.

The British Press of Bombay provides a more complete picture of the Indian scene than the British Press of Calcutta, even if in its beginnings it was less aggressive. For the Calcutta newspapers had been launched initially by disgruntled or dismissed officials; the first Bombay papers were run by officials. Bombay too had its personalities—Stocqueler who tried to be sensational and even seditious but built his brilliant career on the Parsi calendar controversy; J. M. Maclean who cultivated the essay and collected around him a great deal of talent; George Cowen who brought to his religious writings a tone of moderation; and Robert Knight who carried on the work of James Silk Buckingham and placed English journalism in two Indian cities, Bombay and Calcutta, on sound foundations. The Chamber of Commerce played a great part in stabilising the two leading dailies, the *Times* and the *Gazette*; and curiously enough the premier educational institution of Bombay, the Elphinstone College, contributed vastly to the literary standards of both newspapers.

It is interesting to look at the inside of a newspaper office and to study the contents of the leading journals of the time. Pat Lovett has described the staff of Bombay's leading English-owned newspapers. "The literary staff of the *Times of India*," he remarks of 1883 the year he joined it, "consisted of an Editor, an Assistant Editor, a Sub-editor, a Chief Reporter (all imported from England), and four reporters recruited locally, two of whom were Parsees. The menage of the *Bombay Gazette* was similar. I was an extra—an experiment with no counterpart in the rival shop." Lovett continues:

> There was a nondescript mob of press-readers of all conditions, the same as we see today even in the most elaborately equipped newspaper offices. The indifference of the average newspaper proprietor to the quality of the proof correctors is a puzzle of Indian journalism. (The proof correctors) are half-educated men whose wages are so lean that they have to live on the smell of an oil-rag and thus become the recognised tramps of the newspaper world. . . . There was less haste in getting the paper ready for the press but more leisure to attend to its literary content. When an outstanding man made an important speech late in the evening or after dinner on a subject that was keenly agitating the public mind, the reporters did not spoil the effect by rushing a garbled summary into the composing-room to be set up for the next morning's paper; they had the good sense to agree to print just a short note announcing the delivery and value of the speech with a promise of a full report on the following day. . . . During the days of my apprenticeship the proceedings of the Bombay Corporation were carefully reported in both English dailies, specially qualified reporters being put on the job. They were not hurried; a 24 hours' delay in the appearance of their script made no difference to the editor or his clientele. . . . By this means the press materially assisted the municipal reforms for which the citizens clamoured; further it encouraged that high sense of civism for which Bombay has been distinguished throughout the ages.

Court cases and public meetings were also well reported and the two newspapers alternately provided the official reporters of the proceedings of the Legislative Council. Sports attracted consi-

derable interest and here there was a good deal of scope for the reporter who tired of verbatim note-taking. And the great special correspondents played a prominent part in those days—Rudyard Kipling being the first of them. The editorial, as we know it today, was late in coming; it was devoted to non-political subjects for the greater part till 1885 when, with the establishment of the Indian National Congress, the political editorial came into prominence. In the earlier phase there was very little display, the front page was mostly taken up by government notifications, and shipping intelligence was about the only feature which appeared under a classified heading.

It was years before Bombay was able to sustain a daily newspaper and when it did, it had actually four of them—around the 1850's. It was no easy matter to fill the columns. One editor, Mackenna of the *Gentleman's Gazette*, went seated in a palki from office to office to gather material for his newspaper. He frequently published news one day which he had to contradict the next. To have some official connection was highly valued. The editor of the *Bombay Times*, complains the *Bombay Gazette* in 1856, was a Justice of the Peace and as such had access to information which was "a sealed book" to others. Robert Knight had access to information about the working of the Inam Commission which he put to good use. In 1854, an "editors' room" was opened in the Bombay Secretariat where the Press was allowed to see news of public importance and consult government records. The Indian Navy's Commander-in-Chief followed with a table in the waiting-room of the marine department where newspaper reporters were allowed to copy heads of intelligence from English newspapers when the mail arrived.

Reuter had become an established institution by 1859; there was an arrangement between Reuter and the *Bombay Times* for exchange of foreign and Indian news. During 1860, Reuter messages came by mail to the *Bombay Times* but after 1861 the newspaper did not carry Reuter messages for a time. When in 1865, cable communication was established between England and India, the *Bombay Times* again was the first to subscribe to its service. In 1866, Henry Collins with a Parsi clerk and one messenger set up the first Reuter office in India. The cables cost £ 1 a word with a minimum of 20 words per message but the subscribers were eager for news, specially commercial news. The *Times of India*

in 1870 took in the British India Cable and the Indo-European telegraph as well in addition to Reuter but used only about half a column of these messages as a rule. Readers were asked to contribute items of interest and regular contributors were rewarded with a free copy of the newspaper. Since the postage on these effusions were cheerfully paid by the newspapers in those days, there was a high degree of irresponsibility and a surrender to flights of imagination. The editor of the *Telegraph and Courier*, T. J. A. Scott, feelingly writes:

> Those who endeavour to make the editors of newspapers the subjects of their ill-timed diversion should, in our opinion,—we speak calmly—be hanged, drawn and quartered, and their heads cut off and placed over the Fort Gates as a warning to passers-by. We would legislate like Draco for such culprits and feast our eyes on their sufferings with the horrid delight of a Heliogabalus and the ferocity of a Nero. In punishing such offenders revenge would become a virtue and cruelty more honourable than mercy. . . . Were it possible, we would, for their sake, introduce the scalping knife or revive the thumbscrew.

The newspapers, however, were never dull. When nothing outside deserved notice, editors started quarrels among themselves which they pursued with vigour and diligence. At one stage (1846) the wrangles of John Connon became a byword and Bombay's reputation was low. Connon only stopped his attacks when Craig came out as a rival editor and outdid Connon. Between the *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Gazette* there were prolonged hostilities which continued even in 1861 when the *Bombay Times* became the *Times of India*. But though the fight involved even the correspondents, the Press controversies in Bombay seemed to have helped rather than obstructed the growth of the Press. We hear of no vendetta similar to that which was waged in Calcutta against James Silk Buckingham. At the same time, editors who tired of the Bombay scene, like Stocquelor, or were driven out by their financiers as Robert Knight was by his partner, Mathias Mull, readily turned to journalism in Calcutta and achieved signal success. The tendency was for editors to become part or whole proprietors of their newspapers in order to avoid the conflicts which were continuously springing up between the two.

Not all the newspapers were printed in their own press, even though the press bore the same name as the newspaper. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* started with an equipment bought for Rs. 30, and the tenacity of the Ghose family to retain ownership led to strange arrangements to secure the necessary funds. On the other hand, the *Hindu* printed outside for long years before it acquired a press of its own. In Bombay, proprietors who owned both the press and the newspaper sometimes kept their two properties separate. The joint-stock company was exploited to secure support to newspapers, shareholders having an interest both in publishing news and securing advertisements. The *Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce* which was started by the commercial interests, carried a separate section printing proceedings of the Chamber of Commerce, market prices of commodities, bullion, government securities and exchanges, shipping intelligence, Calcutta commercial reports. The *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature and Commerce* gave over a page and a half to commercial news and had to add to its pages to keep up its commercial features. Commodity prices had been printed since 1812. In 1824, separate commercial sheets—the most prominent being the *Bombay Weekly Guide* (after 1832)—made their appearance, copying items from each other. The *Times of India*, however, was the first to report by "electric telegraph" freight and exchange rates in London. The *Journal of Commerce* became the *Commercial Chronicle*, about two columns on the second page after the advertisements. It printed an exclusive feature "commercial intelligence" from Liverpool, a detailed report on the market in England. The full page of commercial news grew during the nineties.

Illustrations in newspapers appeared around the 1850's. The *Telegraph and Courier* printed litho illustrations of the Nimrod sculptures and the Assyrian sculptures in 1847; and there were sketches decorating shipping news, or some special features like the theatre, sports, editorials, etc., before 1830. But the first illustrated journal was the Gujerati *Chitra Gnan Durpan* (The Mirror of Pictorial Knowledge), started in 1850 by Behramjee Khursedji Gandhi. An illustration of the Prophet Mohammed in 1851 was the cause of a serious riot in Bombay. The *Times of India* published its first illustration in 1880 in its weekly edition, a portrait of the Maharana of Udaipur.

Wages for the editorial staff on the English-owned newspapers

were modest. The Editor received Rs. 1,000—at least Stocqueler did. Pat Lovett came out to India in 1883. Then the *Times of India* had a Chief Reporter from England on Rs. 250 a month, and four reporters who drew between Rs. 60 and Rs. 200. In the printing section, the Bombay Government gives a rough idea of prevailing rates in the thirties—the printer of a lithographic press it proposed to set up was to receive Rs. 30, a compositor Rs. 20, a pressman Rs. 12 and a peon Rs. 6. The Indian journals were less remunerative. Natarajan joined the *Indian Spectator* on Rs. 150 a month but found on arriving in Bombay that the salary offered was a maximum limit rather than a regular income. C. Y. Chintamoni writing of the early years on the *Hindu* where he served his apprenticeship, once mentioned that he was gratified to be presented with a watch by G. Subramania Iyer as an incentive to be punctual, only to find at the month's end that its cost had been deducted from his meagre pay. The attraction of journalism was not the remuneration. On the Indian side, much depended on the personal relations between the proprietor who was often the editor too, and his assistants. The widespread joint family provided the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* with the necessary personnel.

Newspapers at the start sold at 8 as. each—they were weeklies of four pages. Increase of pages did not lead to increase in price. The dailies as they came out set their own price. The *Gentleman's Gazette* was 6 as. a copy; the *Telegraph and Courier*, 8 as; the *Times of India* began in 1862 as a 4 as. daily. The *Statesman* of Calcutta created a sensation when it appeared as a one anna paper, and Keshub Chunder Sen had introduced the pice paper on his return from England. Subscriptions in advance cost less than subscriptions in arrears, but many subscribers failed to take advantage of the concession. Missionary journals ran varied rates for different classes of subscribers. The *Bombay Witness* gave a 50 per cent concession on its annual subscription of Rs. 12 to non-commissioned officers, soldiers, "Indo-Britons and Natives." The *Oriental Christian Spectator* charged Rs. 9 a year but gave the reduced rate of Rs. 6 for soldiers and students. Upto the sixties, newspaper circulations were small. The *Times of India* printed 3,000 copies in the 1890's. The overland summaries which were published by the daily newspapers, had a much better sale right through since 1840. The readership was limited. Servants of the East India Company were the main subscribers till 1833; after that

the merchants also came in. There were few Indian readers because the free public libraries served their needs. There were also the circulating libraries. Two of the Circulating Libraries, observes Mr. P. H. Bhuraney, "took up between them one-third of the daily outprint at reduced rates." He adds:

> These entrepreneurs delivered copies to subscribers at 6 a.m.; collected them at 9 a.m. and passed them on to the second group; collected them again at noon for a third class of readers; and then finally gathered them at a fourth time and, after ironing the well-thumbed copies, posted them up-country.

From the advertisement columns of the Press can be culled a vast amount of information. To start with, government notices were valued as news. In Calcutta and Bombay, journals offered to print government notifications—presumably free—in order to catch readers. In 1875-80, Robert Knight suggested paid government advertising for the Indian newspapers to introduce some measure of responsibility in comment and in the presentation of news. Commercial advertising is to be found after 1833 when commerce broke into the East India Company's monopoly and in Bombay and Calcutta sought to establish its own press. Even so, the place of advertising in newspaper finances was only recognised towards the 1880's. Towards 1870, Bombay newspapers began grouping their advertisements under headings like "wanted" and "houses to sell." Illustrated advertisements preceded illustrated reading matter, sketches in outline figuring in the display. There were advertisements in the Indian languages, specially in Gujerati. There were poems commending headwear. The charges were to start with at so much a line—usually 6 as. This soon gave way to a minimum rate—Rs. 4 for 10 lines being the most common. There were concessions for repeating an advertisement. Charges for publication in an Indian language were higher. Clothes, alcohol, auctions and books figure in the earliest advertisements. Later we find oyster shells for windows, billiard tables, horses, carriages of every variety, fishing tackle, guns, furniture, cutlery and crockery appearing with fair regularity—either advertised as going at auctions or as being disposed of by individuals. Advertisements of alcohol are interspersed with advertisements of hair tonics, patent medicines and miracle drugs. "Six dozen chests of bear's grease" which must be

fresh, are wanted for the cultivation of the moustache; and the advertiser promises liberal payment as the parties are training for the Irregular Horse. Pears' Soap makes its entry, followed by Harlene, Bahadur Cigars, Dawson's Boots, Marcks' spectacles, Favre Leuba watches and Fraser's sulphur tablets. It is an index to a growing market and to a society that is fast approximating to social life in England. In Bombay at any rate there is a section among the Indians who can be looked to to assimilate the manners and life of the British.

CHAPTER X

Years of Transition

> We are no longer local and circumscribed. The times are gone when the Bengali, or the Madrasi, or the Punjabi or the Bombayite—when the Brahmin or the Shudra or the Hindu or the Musulman walked each in the name of his own god and his own limited circle. The time is gone when our conceptions of duties and rights were narrow because our life was narrow.
>
> —SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR

BENGALI ventures in journalism, as we have seen, were undertaken by young men from the colleges. And there, the Government was often checked in its desire to take drastic action because of the ridicule likely to attach to an administration which was annoyed by young students. While in Bengal these journalistic enterprises came under the influence of extremists and political irreconcilables, Madras was struggling hard to establish a newspaper of its own. Around 1845, the *Native Herald* was launched, probably as a missionary venture. In the fifties the Native Association was formed and it published the *Crescent* described as the first newspaper published by Indians. It stopped because of lack of support from educated Indians. It was followed by the *Native Public Opinion* under the auspices of Sir T. Madhava Rao, Dewan Bahadur Ragunath Rao and Ranganatha Mudaliar. It failed as well and out of its collapse was born A. Ramachandra Iyer's *Madrassee*. In 1877, it criticised the appointment of Sir T. Muthuswamy Iyer to judgeship of the High Court and, earning public disfavour, closed down shortly afterwards.

Not daunted by these earlier failures, a group of young men just out of college launched the *Hindu* as a weekly. Two of them, G. Subramania Iyer and Veeraraghava Chari, were schoolmasters. With them were three others who were studying law. The first issue appeared on September 20, 1878, and it was well received. C. Karunakara Menon, K. Subba Rao and K. Natarajan joined the staff of the *Hindu* later. G. Subramania Iyer campaigned for the newspaper with great enthusiasm, and under his editorship the *Hindu* came to be recognised as a leading exponent of Indian opinion. In

1883, the weekly was turned into a tri-weekly and in 1888 it was converted into a daily. But Subramania Iyer had severed his connection with the *Hindu* a year earlier, devoting himself to the Tamil *Swadesamitran* which he had launched in 1882. Veeraraghava Chari tried to form a company to run the *Hindu* but the rule forbidding government servants from associating with newspapers doomed the attempt to failure. Karunakara Menon took over the editorship. It must be remembered that journalism had not caught on in Madras at the time and that, when the *Hindu* was launched, there were the two Anglo-Indian dailies, the *Madras Times* and the *Madras Mail*. The Madras Presidency, in fact, had been expressly excluded from the scope of the Vernacular Press Act. A significant pointer to political conditions is provided by Sir Charles Trevelyan's protest against the first Finance Member of the Government of India's levy of income tax. Sir Charles not only objected to the tax being applied to the Madras Presidency (of which he was the Governor) but he went so far as to publish his representation to the Governor-General, his warning that the South had come twice in the past hundred years to the aid of the Government in their hour of need in the North; "it is impossible to say how soon the third occasion may arise, and it would be impolitic to unite the south with the north in a common cause against us." Sir Charles' views were shared by Indian politicians who regarded Madras as "the benighted province" in those days.

But Madras was catching up. If the *Hindu* represented sober journalism the *Madras Standard*, started in 1877 as an Anglo-Indian newspaper and passing in 1892 into the hands of G. Parameswaran Pillai, followed a more extreme policy. He had been expelled from the Maharaja's College in Trivandrum at the age of 18 for his political writings. He was 21 when he took over the *Madras Standard* and changed it into a weekly. He founded the Madras Social Reform Association and became president of the Indian Temperance Association. He wrote with feeling and was little disposed to the considerations of objectivity which held the *Hindu* back. Two years before his entry into journalism, the *Indian Social Reformer* was launched by the young men on the *Hindu* staff, whose sympathies for Hindu reform were troubling the business interests of the *Hindu*. Among them was Kamakshi Natarajan who in 1897 took the weekly with him to Bombay. Natarajan was associated for a time with Malabari's *Indian Spectator*,

and developed a connection with the *Times of India* which endured for over thirty years. Bennett was interested in securing Indian writers and Natarajan was a daily contributor to its editorial columns.

Allan Octavian Hume, the civil servant who had served through the Mutiny and combined courage and steadfastness with understanding, was keenly interested in the *Hindu*. Hume had originally been a champion of social change within the community preceding political agitation. In his letter to the graduates of Calcutta University, he had urged that, unless they stirred themselves to some interest in public affairs and exerted themselves for the people, they could not complain at being discriminated against by the English; he had argued that the best work must be done by themselves and that outsiders could help but not initiate reforms; and his original intention in working for an all India body was to consolidate social reformers and present a forum for the discussion of problems and the devising of means of correcting social evils. It was Lord Dufferin who wanted Hume to build the platform broad enough to hold politics. Lord Dufferin was disappointed with the Indian Press which seemed to represent more the editors themselves than any section of opinion. He wanted an all-India association which would function virtually as an opposition, pointing out the defects of administration. Hume had felt that provincial associations, which existed in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, should be left to express political views, while the all-India platform would provide an annual opportunity for the Indian leaders to come together to consider social subjects. The Governor-General who later objected to provincial governors inaugurating or presiding over these sessions, probably felt that provincial associations would not feel strong enough to express themselves freely, just as he believed that the all-India leaders would be inhibited in the presence of the governor. The Indian leaders whom Hume consulted, were all in favour of the Dufferin plan—though they did not know that the Governor-General was the author. The Indian National Congress was launched in 1885. Of the seventy delegates that attended the first session in Bombay, about a third were associated with the Indian newspapers of the time. Government officials were present as visitors, and the second session in Calcutta and the third in Madras found the Congress delegates lionised as distinguished guests at Government House parties.

Surendranath Bannerjee who had founded the Indian National Conference in 1883, could not attend the first session of the Congress at Bombay because he had organised a session of the Conference at Calcutta at the same time. Poona which had been chosen as the venue of the first Congress, had to be given up for Bombay because of the ravage of plague. The official favour, however, was rapidly withdrawn and by 1890, the Government of India looked upon the Congress as the forum of Indian liberal opinion in contrast to the large body of conservative thinking, and an attitude of "neutrality" between the two was pursued. "Neutrality," Mr. Srinivasa Sastri observed in an introduction to a Congress publication, "is a difficult virtue to observe towards persistent critics. Officials soon became distinctly hostile to the Congress and threw obstacles in its way. . . . We had no knowledge of the masses and no right to speak on their behalf. We represented nobody, but our little selves. The great warrior communities, the landed gentry, the proud and sensitive Mohammedans, the Eurasian, and the Native Christians would have none of us. We were disloyal and seditious and abused the liberty of speech and writing, granted by a too forbearant government." The birth of the Congress, however, heralded a renaissance in which the Press fully participated. The awakening of Indian nationalism is marked by a series of events of which the founding of the Congress in 1885 is the central incident. During 1881-1884, Ripon's liberal administration had passed three measures—the local self-government act, the unsettling of the Permanent Settlement, and the modified Ilbert Bill. The last had roused the European community to organised protest, and the lesson was not lost on Indians. Shortly after the Congress was set up, the Indian National Social Conference was convened by Ranade, thus fulfilling the original scheme of Hume's. The passing of the Age of Consent Act in 1891 after a country-wide campaign started by Malabari in India and personal representation in England had discomfited the conservatives who had exerted themselves to oppose it. The veteran statesman, Sir T. Madhava Rao, had been dissuaded from presiding over a pro-Age of Consent Bill meeting. Hume did not see why progressive Indian workers in politics and social reform should not supplement each other's work. But events developed rapidly to drive in a deep wedge between the two.

These conflicts and controversies, however, gave rise to a vigo-

rous Press. "The real development of the art and business of journalism, as it is understood in the West," wrote Pat Lovett, "dates in India from the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. . . . The influence of the Press on the administration of the country and the political education of the intelligentsia made itself felt with ever increasing force from that epochal event . . . . The papers which were native and racy of the soil, gained a new importance; whereas those owned and edited by Englishmen, who voiced the views of the British Raj and the British Plantation, were compelled to a new orientation." As a result, the British newspapers became commercial undertakings with technical production greatly advanced; the Indian journals were conducted as a public service rather than a business.

In Calcutta, the *Statesman* espoused Indian causes; the *Englishman* opposed them; and the *Indian Daily News*, owned mostly by David Yule, pursued a middle policy, and compensated for its moderation by specialising in commercial news and sports of all kinds. Such were the great dailies. There were a number of weeklies—the *Capital* founded by Shirley Tremearne, a businessman, lawyer and writer in 1888; and the *Indian Engineering*, a scientific publication, started by Pat Doyle about the same time. An interesting enterprise was the *Asian* launched by Targett, an Australian, as a purely sporting journal. Targett was the first in India to appreciate the place of advertisements in a newspaper for financial success. The *Indian Planters' Gazette* published planting and general news with a supplement on sports. The Indian Press was also equally strong in Calcutta, though less flourishing. Surendranath Bannerjee's *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* had been converted into dailies since 1878, and the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Indian Mirror* had established themselves. The Bengali journals covered a wide field but controversies over social problems roused the widest interest.

In Madras the *Hindu* was functioning as a daily from 1889, and in 1892 the *Madras Standard* under Parameswaran Pillai entered the field with vigour. The British Press had two newspapers, the *Madras Times* and the *Madras Mail*. Allahabad printed the *Pioneer*, while Lahore had the *Civil and Military Gazette* with the *Tribune* slowly building up as a national newspaper. Bombay with a fluid situation had two firm rivals in the *Times of India* and the *Bombay Gazette*. There was no Indian daily but Malabari's *Indian Spec-*

tator was well publicised, and attracted several journalists. Ranade who had a warm attachment to the *Indian Social Reformer* and, in spite of differences, always gave his personal advice and wrote to it on public subjects, rebuked Natarajan for joining the *Indian Spectator*. "To ask for help for the *Reformer*," he told Natarajan, "is one thing. But the *Spectator*. . . !" The *Reformer* had been a frequent embarrassment to Ranade and his policy of conciliation. It attacked Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao for his vacillation; it condemned Telang and later Mudholkar for failing to live the life of a reformer; it was little inclined to play the defensive against Tilak; and it frequently pressed on the Social Conference the desirability of cultivating an existence separate from that of the Congress. It had the support of Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and Narayan Chandavarkar. The role played by the *Hindu Patriot*, the *Indian Mirror*, the *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* in Calcutta, and the *Hindu* and the *Madras Standard* in Madras, was taken by the Gujerati newspapers, the *Bombay Samachar* and the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, in Bombay. There had been interesting experiments at collaboration between Indians and Britons. In 1840, the *Native Reformer* owned by Nowrojee Dorabjee had an Englishman looking after its English pages. In 1878, Malabari worked on the *Bombay Review* and *Indian Advertiser*. The *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Courier* had Parsee shareholders in their earlier stages. In 1888, Jehangir Murzban supported by Pherozeshah Mehta took over the *Advocate of India* from Mr. Blaney its proprietor. But Sir Pherozeshah disagreed with Murzban's conduct of the paper and severed his connection. The *Advocate* was started in 1886 by Thomas Blaney with the idea of becoming an organ of the Congress. Blaney continued to interest himself in the newspaper even after he sold out to Murzban, and Pat Lovett who became its editor in 1892, gives a vivid picture of the problems he had to face: The *Pioneer* had ridiculed the debates of the Bombay Municipal Corporation of which Blaney was an active member. The *Pioneer* remarked that a debate in which Blaney took part, reminded it of the famous colloquy between Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek. Lovett who had been out covering Hindu-Muslim riots, returned to his office and glancing at the editorial read Blaney's vigorous rejoinder. "Who cares a hang," wrote Blaney, "for the opinions of two obscure knights, probably *apke-waste* Wallahs who got their titles for sitting on the steps of Government

House?" An editor who valued the reputation of his paper, remarks Lovett, had to be careful of the character of its literary contents.

These were the years of Rudyard Kipling. He had returned to the land of his birth in 1882 at the age of seventeen to work on the *Civil and Military Gazette* as the sole assistant to Stephen Wheeler who was its editor. Kipling threw himself into his work which consisted of reading all the proofs and re-writing government reports in livelier language. With the next editor, Robinson, Kipling introduced changes in the paper, adding short stories and poems. But his hard work and varied writings were obscured in the eyes of proprietors of the newspaper by his irreverent approach to government reports. In 1887, he was transferred to the *Pioneer*, and finally as a last resort he was sent round on a roving commission in 1888. His travels took him all over the world for the next seven years. In 1895 he settled down in England. Kipling's first books were published in India.

CHAPTER XI

The Call of Nationalism

> Candour compels the admission that there is far more liberty allowed to the British-owned newspapers than to those edited and owned by Indian Nationalists .... The Indian Press has always been and is to-day what the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea called a "great instrument of propagandism," hence the vigilant antipathy of the Bureaucracy in marked contrast to the fraternal tolerance extended to the British section .... If an administrative measure is attacked by the Indian-edited Press it is the duty of the British-edited Press to defend it with all its ordnance.
>
> —PAT LOVETT

THE Congress and the reformed Councils gave the Press in India, as Pat Lovett observes, a great deal of material and a number of subjects. This had also its disadvantages. While scarcity of news and the hungry columns forced editors to print everything newsworthy that they received, the new unaccustomed volume of proceedings, speeches and resolutions allowed a wide lattitude of choice. As Valentine Chirol observed in *Indian Unrest*:

> Not only is the art of gallery reporting still in its infancy, but many Indian newspapers have still to learn that "it is not cricket" to report only the speeches of their political friends and to omit or compress into a few lines the speeches of their adversaries. . . . The communication of speeches in advance to the Press must be strenuously discountenanced .... It is also to be hoped that the official verbatim reports will not in future lag so far behind the actual proceedings.

The educational system provided the reading public. In 1854, Sir Charles Wood's famous Education Despatch emphasised the importance of primary education, outlined the plan for the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and established the grant-in-aid system which encouraged private educational institutions. The defect of the system, as educationists saw it around 1900,

was that it increased the number of private institutions, laid too much emphasis on examinations, and reduced education to a mechanical process of cramming into more or less receptive minds quantities of undigested knowledge. In 1854, there were some 12,000 students in government institutions and about 48,000 in missionary schools. The grants-in-aid system enabled several of these products to start schools of their own and the influence of missionary education was considerable on this expansion. But the quality diminished as the numbers increased, and with the absence of employment opportunities the importance of examinations grew apace. In the quinquennial report on education for 1902-1907, it is remarked that out of 24,000 candidates at Matriculation 11,000 passed; 7,000 candidates went up for the Intermediate Arts examination and 2,800 passed; and 4,750 candidates appeared for the Bachelor of Arts degree with 1,900 succeeding. In 1907, there were some 18,000 students at college to supply an annual output of 1,900 graduates. The Government provided opportunities for employment for a total of less than 4,000: Of these, a little over a thousand were employed as deputy collectors, deputy magistrates, assistant commissioners; about 1,200 were taken on as sub-deputy collectors and sub-deputy magistrates; about a thousand were sub-deputy judges and munsiffs; and less than 600 were in the educational department. Scientific and technical education was undeveloped. Of the students going to England, the majority were law students. The engineering students complained that opportunities for practical experience were lacking as private firms were reluctant to employ them; France and Germany showed more friendliness and greater willingness to take them on in their firms. About the position of the educated, Valentine Chirol observes:

> Even the unskilled labourer (in 1909) can often command 12 annas to a rupee a day; but the youth who has sweated himself and his family through the long course of higher education frequently looks in vain for employment at Rs. 30 and even Rs. 20 a month. In Calcutta, not a few have been taken on by philanthropic Hindus to do mechanical work in the jute mills at Rs. 15 a month simply to keep them from starvation. . . . The educational system is now turning out year by year a semi-educated proletariat which is not only unemployed but in many cases almost unemployable. One of the highest authorities on education

told me that in Bengal he estimates the number of these unemployed at 40,000. Out of one group of 3,054 teachers in Bengal over 2,100 receive salaries of less than Rs. 30 a month. One cannot, therefore, be surprised to hear that in Bengal only men of poor attainments adopt the profession, and the few who are well qualified only take up work in schools as a stepping-stone to some more remunerative career. That career is frequently found in the Press, where the disgruntled ex-schoolmaster adds his quota of gall to the literature of disaffection. But he is still more dangerous when he remains a schoolmaster and uses his position to teach disaffection to his pupils either by precept or example.

The system was bad enough. The prevailing views were calculated to make it even worse. As a result of revision of policy, the educational system was recast, dividing Indians and Europeans into two separate categories and giving the Indian group a very much lower status. Europeans were recruited to the Indian Educational Service after 1888, and Indians to the Provincial Educational Service. Further, the Indian Educational Service was treated as an inferior branch of the public service. There were able men among them but they were generally looked down upon as men who, if they sought a career in India, had failed to qualify for the Indian Civil Service, or, if they desired an educational career, had failed to establish themselves in England. Pat Lovett has remarked that the English Professors of Elphinstone College who wrote to the *Times of India* and the *Bombay Gazette*, when their blood was roused, indulged "in fulminations the splendour of which dazzled the professional journalist and left him lamenting his own incompetence." Dissatisfaction with the government system led Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar, a member of the Government Educational Service, to resign and start a private school in Poona in 1880. In this work he was assisted by Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak who by not entering government service began where Chiplunkar left off. From this beginning, the Deccan Education Society was born where members bound themselves to serve for 20 years with a starting salary of Rs. 75 a month. A similar movement was launched in the Punjab by Hansraj, Guru Datta and Lajpat Rai at almost the same time (1886). The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College followed an even more far-reaching policy of refusing government subsidies. An offshoot of the Arya Samaj enterprise

was the Gurukul near Hardwar which adopted an austere monastic system and provided the leadership for the Punjab. These may be called the hard core of national education.

Developments like these roused grave doubts in the minds of administrators about the value of the education imparted under their patronage. In 1889, MacDonnell, Secretary to the Government, submitted to the Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, certain proposals for educational reform but nothing was done about it until 1904 when Curzon summoned an educational conference over which he presided himself. In the exchange of letters between the Secretary of State for India and Lord Ripon over the Vernacular Press Act, it was suggested by the former that it would be wiser to amend Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code than to adopt exceptional measures discriminating against any section of the Press. Lord Ripon replied affirming his decision to repeal the Vernacular Press Act, but agreeing to postpone his action until he had examined carefully in consultation with the local Governments whether any amendment of the Indian Penal Code was necessary. Both he and his successor, Lord Dufferin, did not take any steps to amend the sedition section introduced by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen in 1870, after the Wahabi agitation. But a series of incidents took place which induced the Government to move in 1897 for changes in the penal laws of the country. The agitation against the Age of Consent Act in 1890 failed but it had left a bitterness in the leaders of the orthodox Hindus, particularly in Bengal and Maharashtra. It had provided a central issue for rallying opinion all over India, and the amazing campaign conducted by Malabari and his friends in Western India and by Keshub Chunder Sen and the Brahmoes in Bengal had opened the eyes of the orthodox to the value of organised agitation. Keshub Chunder Sen, shortly after the Act was passed, confounded his supporters by allowing the marriage of his daughter at a very young age and with the perfomance of Hindu religious rites. There were defections in Bombay too among the reformers. This set-back was fully utilised by the Bengal reactionaries; and in Maharashtra Tilak was biding his time for a renewal of his fight with the reformers and with Ranade. The Indian National Congress provided an all-India forum for politcal controversy but in its early years, the effect was to strengthen the conservative forces against the reformers.

Social Reform, Natarajan repeatedly said, is not a matter of mere

change in manners and customs; it is a way of life. It involved a basic faith in evolutionary progress not revolution. As he observed in his Haskell Lectures in Chicago, it was a movement peculiarly appropriate for India which had traditions of continuity. This, at any rate, was the refinement of the attitude and policy which gave the Madras school of social reformers so much influence and appreciation. It was the prevailing sentiment behind the social reform movement. The success which attended its efforts, was by no means small. It had challenged the authority of the orthodox pandits who dominated British Indian law; it had inspired a religious movement in Bengal, a secular-religious revival in Western India, and a secular humanist orientation in South India; it had after the first excesses prepared the way for assimilating modern ideas without accepting complete westernisation; it had resisted the spread of Christianity; it had contributed to the spirit of nationalism, in as much as Hume's whole idea of a national conference was inspired by the concept of organising social reformers. It was the earnest band of social reform journalists again who had on the Indian side supplemented the liberal policy of Canning after the Mutiny. This was very creditable but Tilak seized hold of the inadequacy of the reformers to discredit them with the public.

If British agitation on the Ilbert Bill taught Indians the value of organised propaganda, the work of Malabari and Keshub Chunder Sen in securing the passage of the Age of Consent Act conveyed the same lesson to the orthodox. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* had become a daily to advocate the orthodox cause, and the example of the *Patrika* first awakened in Tilak awareness of the possibilities of harnessing religious sentiment to political causes. Beginning with Ripon's modest measure of local self-government and reaching down to the Indian Councils Act of 1892 there were a series of concessions aimed at securing for Indians forums to express their views. The founding of the Indian National Congress came at the middle of this decade, the express purpose, as Lord Dufferin saw it, being to provide an opposition from which the Government could learn what Indians thought.

The *Bangabasi* had come under the displeasure of the Government for its violent attack on the Age of Consent Act. Before the Calcutta High Court could pronounce judgment in a prosecution under Section 124A, the Government withdrew the case on apologies being tendered and promise of future moderation given by the

proprietor, manager, editor and publisher of the newspaper and on representations made by the British Indian Association and the Native Press Association, an organisation specifically formed after the proceedings had been instituted to moderate the tone of the Press in Bengal. In Bombay Tilak followed a more calculated policy of discrediting Indian leaders of reformist views. In 1891, the Government passed an act placing the control of newspapers published in Indian States in the hands of the Political Agent whose powers included forcible expulsion from the State. Another act discriminated against Indians of the educational service whilst a third one provided Exchange Compensation Allowance for European officers. All these were severely criticised in the Press, Tilak's newspapers taking a leading part.

The acts of the Government were followed by natural calamities. In 1895 and 1896, famine broke out in the Bombay Presidency during which Tilak rendered yeoman service, organising cheap grain shops and working a relief scheme in cooperation with the Government. Plague followed in which again Tilak's work was remarkable. He established a hospital and commended the anti-plague measures of the Government. All this time, however, he was building up his leadership among the Hindus, advocating a central "anti-cow-killing society," setting up Ganapati societies, and reviving the Shivaji cult. Nor did he cease to agitate for the remission of taxes as a relief measure where the crops fell below a certain yield. There seems to have been some feeling that the Government had accepted this suggestion, with consequent difficulties to the tax-collectors when they went on their rounds. Tilak again commented freely on the excesses of the military employed in clearing plague-infected houses. As a result of these controversies which were agitating the public mind, the Collector of Poona, Mr. Rand, and a military officer, Lieutenant Ayerst, were shot dead by Damodhar Chaphekar who admitted that he had been moved to action by Tilak's writings. Chaphekar was executed; and Tilak, tried for sedition for his articles in the *Kesari*, was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. But Tilak was released in 1898 before the completion of his term. He retired to Sinhgad. In 1901, while he was still keeping out of politics, he became involved in the Tai Maharaj case where he was charged with corruption, perjury and forgery and sentenced to another 18 months' rigorous imprisonment but exonerated by the High Court on appeal. Tilak

and Khaparde, executors under the will of Baba Maharaj, were charged with exercising undue influence on the widow, Tai Maharaj, to make her adopt a nominee of their choice. An involved litigation, the exoneration of Tilak was received with relief even by his political opponents while to his followers he appeared as a national hero.

But the Poona murders had shaken the Government out of its tolerance. The difficulty of establishing a connection between newspapers inciting acts of violence and the acts themselves, the popularity of Tilak and the unrest in Bombay and Bengal moved them to act. In 1898, the Government of India revised Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, rewrote the law of sedition in plainer language, added a new section to it and amended another section of the Code. The first read as follows:

> 124A. I.P.C. Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.
>
> *Explanation* 1. The expression "disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.
>
> *Explanation* 2. Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.
>
> *Explanation* 3. Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.

The new section of the Indian Penal Code read:

> 153A. I.P.C. Whoever, by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representations, or otherwise, promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different

classes of Her Majesty's subjects shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Explanation. It does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this section to point out, without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing, or have a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects.

And the amended section ran as follows:

505. I.P.C. Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report,

(*a*) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, any officer, soldier or sailor in the army or navy of Her Majesty or in the Royal Indian Marine or in the Imperial Service Troops to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such; or

(*b*) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquillity; or

(*c*) with intent to incite, or which is likely to incite, any class or community of persons to commit any offence against any other class or community;

shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Exception. It does not amount to an offence, within the meaning of this section, when the person making, publishing or circulating any such statement, rumour or report has reasonable grounds for believing that such statement, rumour or report is true, and makes, publishes or circulates it without any such intent as aforesaid.

The reason for the legislation was the uncertainty of the law as it stood and the determination to check sedition. Any desire to check the freedom of the Press was denied, and the suggestion to re-enact the Vernacular Press Act was resolutely turned down. Summing up the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council, Lord Elgin observed:

All that we, the Government, can say is that we desire the powers necessary to put down sedition. We ask for nothing more, but we can be satisfied with nothing less. We do not desire to have a law which bears oppressively on one particular section of the

community. Only partial justice is done to us when it is said that we have abstained from proposing an enactment aimed at the Vernacular Press, because as a matter of fact our legislation is not a Press Act at all. It lays down certain rules of conduct, by observing which any member of the community can keep within the law, rules which are applicable to all and show favour to none.

The amendments effected clarification of the Sedition section adopted in 1870 and expanded "disaffection against the Government established by law" to include hatred and contempt for the British sovereign or the British Government in India. They provided for transportation for a term in addition to transportation for life among the penalties; and they made the promotion of differences between different classes of British Indian subjects an offence. The publication of alarmist statements, statements inciting members of the armed forces, statements provoking any class or community against any other class or community, was also brought under the penalty of the law. If the *Bangabasi* in Calcutta and the *Kesari* in Poona had brought out the necessity of redefining sedition, the reluctance of the law officers to advise prosecution in several other cases owing to the doubtfulness of obtaining conviction had equally forced the hands of exasperated administrators, squirming under the general provocations of the Press. At the same time, the existence of an organised public opinion as shown by the sessions of the Congress, the confidence of the extremist Press and the public support accorded to men like Surendranath Bannerji and Bal Gangadhar Tilak made the Government careful to clarify its tolerance of criticism while insisting on precautions against sedition. Section 124A was certainly resorted to more frequently than the Sedition section had been.

Though Tilak modestly insisted that he learnt his political lesson at the feet of Sishir Ghose and Motilal Ghose of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, he went far beyond these and other Bengal journalists. Tilak was the first Indian to understand the political importance of mass communication. He and his followers imitated the techniques of the Brahmo Samaj reformers who used the stage and the Press and the school for rousing public opinion. Iswarchandra Vidyasagar in Bengal had succeeded in rousing Bengal opinion in favour of widow remarriage, a feat the magnitude of which can be judged by the resistance to the reform that developed so strongly that only the

determination of Chandavarkar in 1901 succeeded in retaining it on the programme of the Social Conference in Calcutta itself. But it was Tilak who first acted on a programme of harnessing conservative religious sentiment to political work. There was another fundamental difference between the journalists of Bengal and Tilak and his associates. In Bengal, it was always difficult for the authorities to pin down responsibility for the writings that appeared in the Press. In Tilak's own words, the Bengal journalists sought to "teach the people how to criticise the bureaucracy and, at the same time, keep oneself safe, bodily at least, if not pecuniarily." This was foreign to Tilak's nature and he soon outgrew his tutelage until the younger Bengal writers, roused by the public acclaim accorded to Tilak, followed his example. Shortly after the break with Agarkar who founded a new journal, the *Sudharak* or reformer, with Gopal Krishna Gokhale as his colleague, Tilak enlisted N. C. Kelkar and K. P. Khadilkar in his work on the *Kesari*. Kelkar was a careful writer who took his journalistic work seriously. He sought to educate his readers and there was always a wealth of information in his writings. Khadilkar was a faithful disciple of Tilak, who followed the Master so closely that it was difficult to distinguish between the writings of the two. J. S. Karandikar who later joined the staff and succeeded Kelkar as editor of the *Kesari*, combined the erudition of Kelkar and the passion of Khadilkar.

It will be recalled that the Marquess of Hastings in dealing with Buckingham was less perturbed by his writings than by the possibility of public money being subscribed to help his defence. In Buckingham's case, it was only an idea. With Tilak and those who after him defied the laws of the Government openly, this became a common feature; and it dismayed a succession of Governors-General and officials. The bureaucracy in India was not sympathetic to the Congress; nor were the Governors-General who succeeded Dufferin imbued with that enthusiasm for knowing Indian political opinion which inspired him to emphasise the political aspect. In its third year, Hume observed that the National Congress had sought to instruct the Government but the Government had refused to be instructed. "It now will be for us to instruct the two nations." While he and his friends applied themselves to the task with vigour in England, the Congress itself was to face both internal and external difficulties. Encouraged by a section of British officials, Sir Syed Ahmad had launched in succession the Mahomedan Educational

Conference, the Patriotic Association and the Upper India Mahomedan Defence League. These associations did not contemplate building up Muslims into a communal political organisation so much as opposing Congress politics. Muslims at the time were little interested in politics, and such of them as were found themselves in the Congress. But the success beyond Maharashtra of Tilak's Hindu movement, which combined revivalism with denunciation of other Hindu leaders who favoured a more cautious and conciliatory approach, provided an opportunity that was too good to be lost.

A figure that is as prominent in journalism as it is in the religious history of India is Brahma Bandhav Upadhyaya. Bhawani Charan Banerji Upadhyaya, as he was known in his earlier years, was a native of Bengal who joined the Brahmo Samaj around 1886. His outstanding qualities attracted the Brahmoes of Sind and he was drawn to Sind. In 1888, he founded a model boys' school in Hyderabad. Two years later he left the Brahmo Samaj and joined first the Anglican Church and after six months there was received into the Catholic Church at Karachi. He took the name Theophilus which he indianised as Brahmabandhav. His activities embarrassed the Catholics who were not prepared to accept the Hindu adaptations which he favoured. In 1900, after various attempts to work in Sind and in Central India, he returned to Calcutta with some companions, prominent among them being Animananda, a Hindu of Hyderabad who had come under his influence. In Calcutta, Brahmabandhav who had taken the weekly journal, *Sophia*, with him, grew more political in his outlook and facing difficulties with the Catholic Church he discontinued its publication. From 1902 to 1904, Brahmabandhav issued several periodicals and dailies, one of which, the *Sandhya*, became the leading Bengali newspaper of the time. This remarkable man also has the credit of launching a school in collaboration with Animananda and later Rabindranath Tagore which developed into Shantiniketan. Brahmabandhav and Animananda, however, had to leave the school after it was taken, at Rabindranath's suggestion, to a country-seat-of his father near Bolpur. Brahmabandhav had to leave because he had too much influence over the Poet, and Animananda because he had too much influence over the boys. The two were not able to hold together

because Animananda was out of sympathy with his friend's programme of converting India "through Hinduism." Possibly the political fervour of Brahmabandhav proved too strong for the educationist Animananda who settled down to run a school of his own, the Boys' Own Home. Brahmabandhav, however, started ideas which were to acquire great strength in the years to come. He was actively interested in promoting national education free from western influence and uncontaminated by aid from the Government; and he refused just before he died in 1907 in hospital to defend himself in a court of law because he did not recognise the authority of the alien Government.

Later on the scene but already active in educational, social and religious work were Aurobindo Ghose and his brother, Barendra Kumar Ghose; Bhupendra Nath Dutt, the brother of Swami Vivekananda; Mrs. Annie Besant who came out to India in 1893 and led a Hindu revival movement in the South; Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in the Punjab; S. M. Paranjype, editor of the *Kal*, in Bombay. Bepin Chandra Pal had made a name for himself in Indian journalism and it is of interest to note that, when Aurobindo Ghose first started his writings in the *Bande Mataram* (1906), it was thought that the real author was Pal himself whose clear, lucid presentation of political issues had arrested attention. Surendranath Bannerjee was a power to be reckoned with; and Motilal Ghose was steadily developing the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* along a policy of "oppose, oppose and oppose" into the leading national newspaper of India.

The stage had been set for strong action, and in 1899 a strong Viceroy came out to India—Lord Curzon. Curzon had a feeling for India which did not include an effort to understand Indian sentiment. He looked upon the criticisms which were uttered as so many evidences of Indian obstructionism. Curzon had a sense of history and he brought to his administration a firm determination to secure justice as between Englishmen and Indians. But the number of measures restricting liberty and opposing educated opinion in India was so big that there was little enthusiasm for his many virtues. Gokhale in his speech as Congress President in 1905 summed up the rule of Curzon without withholding praise or blame. Describing him as one of the greatest Englishmen that ever came out

to India, Gokhale went on to say:

> For a parallel to his administration we must, I think, go back to the times of Aurungzeb in the history of our own country. There we find the same attempt at a rule excessively centralized and intensely personal, the same strenuous purpose, the same over-powering consciousness of duty, the same marvellous capacity for work, the same sense of loneliness, the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression, resulting in bitter exasperation all round. Lord Curzon's highest ideal of statesmanship is efficiency of administration.... He has no sympathy with popular aspirations, and when he finds them in a subject people, he thinks he is rendering their country a service by trying to put them down.

These are strong words for one who was known for his moderation. But Gokhale with his political insight knew how much depended on the right thing being done at the right time. Curzon's regime practically sealed the fate of the liberal elements in India. Curzon in the first term had done much and everything might have gone well had he left at the time. But he had a sense of work unfinished and at his insistence a reluctant British Government granted him a second term. Then, nothing that he did seemed to be right. Among the many acts that went astray, the partition of Bengal stands out as the culminating error. It was not Curzon's invention—the remarkable egoism, drive and energy of the man do not disguise the lack of originality of the "greatest Englishman in India." But its revival came at a time when men were stirring in India and the people waiting for some rallying point. Curzon's strong point, and his weakness, was his utter indifference to public opinion—always a virtue in academic life, sometimes a virtue in private life, but always a major defect in an administrator. His high concept of the imperial responsibilities of the Englishman in India was embarrassing to the British in India, and provoking to the Indian at a particularly sensitive period in national development. Even when he rebuked army personnel and official and non-official Britons, he did so not because he felt for Indians but because they owed it, in his opinion, to themselves as members of the ruling race.

In his book, *Indian Unrest*, Valentine Chirol mentions by name some 20 journals and newspapers which supported extremist

politics. *Hind Swarajya, Yugantar, Gujarat, Shakti, Kal, Dharma, Hitaishi, Khulnavasi, Kalyani, Bedari, Prem, Vartabaha, Akash, Kesari, Karnatak Vaibhav, Rashtramat, Vishvavritta, New India, Bande Mataram, Sandhya, Bengalee, Hitabadi, Dacca Gazette, Jhang Sial, Navasakti, Sahaik*—these kept up a virulent campaign with considerable ingenuity, leaving practically nothing to the imagination of the reader. Every part of the country was represented and every province was reached. Outside India, there was the *Free Hindustan* in America, the *Indian Sociologist* of Shyamji Krishnavarma in London and Paris, the *Talvar* and *Bande Mataram* on the Continent. These journals and a number of pamphlets were smuggled into India in large parcels or sent through the post in "envelopes addressed to students, schoolmasters, lawyers, government employees, by name." These publications were crude and violent; they rejoiced in political murders; they expected to build a powerful base outside India for revolutionary activities; and they were printed for surreptitious circulation in India. They also favoured propaganda among Indians studying in the West, and here, observes Chirol, they found abundant response.

More responsible but hardly less galling to the British official and the British Press which was gradually but surely lining itself up behind the Government of India, was the *India*, the periodical started by the Congress in London. The small circulation of *India* was more than compensated for by the influence it had on the British Liberal Press and politicians. Between the Congress and the British Liberal Party there developed the closest ties which were strongest during the 20 years of Conservative domination between 1885 and 1905. It was less the virulence of the Indian Press than this close alliance between British and Indian Liberal opinion which irked the British official and his supporters in the European community in India. The extension of constitutional reform, gradual as it was, added at each stage to the anxiety of the vested British interest, represented most vocally in the British Press in India.

PART THREE

The National Awakening

CHAPTER XII

Background

> There can never be between Englishmen and Indians the same community of historical traditions, of racial affinity, of social institutions, of customs and beliefs that exists between people of our own stock throughout the British Empire. The absence of these sentimental bonds, which cannot be artificially forged, makes it impossible that we should ever concede to India the rights of self-government which we have willingly conceded to the great British communities of our own race.
>
> —VALENTINE CHIROL

AT the dawn of the twentieth century, Valentine Chirol stands as a portent. Nothing indicates the mood of the Government of India so clearly for the next two decades as the studied presentation in *Indian Unrest*. It was a book written for consumption in Britain, assisted by officials of the Indian Government and filled with their prejudices, and launched with a flattering dedication to Lord Morley, the Liberal theoretician who had won the hearts of the bureaucracy by rejecting parliamentary democracy as the political goal of India. The imperious Curzon who discovered with maturity the error of attempting too much; the conciliatory Minto who first subdued his Secretary of State, Morley, and then went on to win over the Muslims, the Princes, the landlords and even a section of the moderates of India to support his Government; Morley who from the office of the Secretary of State in London, swayed the thoughts of Indians; Hardinge who united the Government and the people of India on imperial questions of war and peace; and Edwin Montagu who strove against the bureaucracy to carve a new policy—these are the last members of the governing nation whose concern for India and its future was accepted on all sides—the first, a confirmed imperialist, the last, a radical of the finest character. Even while they trod the stage, the Indian National Congress threw up out of conflict and bitter struggle national leaders—Gokhale the constitutionalist, Tilak the political rebel, Annie Besant, Lajpat Rai, Bepin Chandra Pal, Phirozeshah Mehta, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Chittaranjan Das, and others who played an

active part in politics. The legislatures contributed their men. In the field of journalism, we see some of these names recurring, and new stars making their appearance—C. Y. Chintamani, G. A. Natesan, N. C. Kelkar and Benjamin Guy Horniman.

In India, several factors combined to widen the gap between the British administration and the Indian people. Between 1900 and 1914, there had been waves of repression and the Press had been repeatedly bludgeoned by sedition trials. The political leadership had passed from Bengal to Bombay where the Tilak school of journalists drove home their lessons in homely and direct language. The Anglo-Indian Press, ridiculing all Indian politicians, seized on every threatened split in the Congress with avid glee. Under Lord Hardinge a short truce came about when the Government influenced the British newspapers and brought about a more sober appraisal of imperial problems. But it was difficult to persuade the Anglo-Indian Press that better relations between Britain and India could be established without destroying the privileged position of the Anglo-Indian community.

From the first Councils Act of 1861 to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 there is a run of nearly sixty years, punctuated by the Councils Act of 1891 and the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1907. The first World War slowed down the tempo of Indian agitation; on the other hand, the reliance of Britain on India and the Indian contribution to the war effort softened the British attitude. "In the moral and material sphere," wrote the official annual, *India in 1917-18*, "the war has acted as a great stimulus to India. It has broadened her outlook, it has deepened her interest in the Empire . . . . It may well prove to be the beginning of a new era, not merely in the relations of India to the Empire, but also in the internal life of India itself." The change had begun earlier when Lord Hardinge gave the full support of his Government to the Indian struggle for civic rights in South Africa. "At no time," remarked *India in 1917-18*, "was there any symptom of a desire for the severance of the ties which bound India to the Mother Country. There was, on the contrary, a demand for the strengthening of these ties combined with a firm resolve that India's position within the Empire should not fall short of that which was deemed to be rightfully her due." India's representatives participated in the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial Cabinet and sat among the Imperial delegates to the Peace Conference. India, as a later-day Secretary

of State for India put it, had attained Dominion status but was still to acquire the functions of a Dominion. For, as in international and imperial counsels India's representatives were gaining entry, the Government was becoming particularly eager to prevent other Indian views from spreading abroad.

Constitutional reforms followed after a long interval since their introduction was announced; invariably they failed to satisfy the expectations aroused; and they were attended by repression. The war years were specially anxious years for the Government of India—the enthusiasm of Indian leaders of all shades of opinion to support the war effort embarrassing the bureaucrats who did not desire Indian participation in the war to carry Indian politics out of manageable proportions. The Government's insistence on a free hand in the conduct of the Mesopotamian campaign and the inability to pursue it efficiently gave statesmen, politicians and the general public of Britain second thoughts about the possibility of efficient bureaucratic government in dependent territories. Caught between the upper millstone of world opinion—Woodrow Wilson was pressing for a post-war settlement that left "no aggrieved nation planning for revenge, no people under an alien Government without its consent"—and the lower millstone of Indian nationalism, the British Government was under the dual necessity of moving forward without adding to the problems of the Government of India.

Tilak had declared that, while he had no illusion about the strength of an unarmed divided Indian nationalism striving against the British Government of India, he did want to subdue the bureaucracy. He sought to organise Indian opinion to resist the Government's extravagances. He was sceptical of the virtues of royal proclamations and ministerial declarations which needed practical implementation because he feared perversion of good intentions by the bureaucracy. The Government of India could hardly be expected to applaud these sentiments which won support both in India and in England. The Anglo-Indian Press had by reason of natural interest made itself the mouthpiece of the Indian Government, and the ties were so close that neither sought to dissociate itself from the other. Valentine Chirol, of the London *Times*, was no Anglo-Indian journalist. But he represents the peak of Government-Press collaboration in the India of his days. He was furnished with the material for his articles and helped to expand

them into his book, *Indian Unrest*; he was helped materially in his defence in the defamation suit which Tilak brought against him for certain assertions in the book; and he was rescued from the consequences of unfounded charges because the Government of India was deeply involved in the production of the book. Lord Hardinge had grave doubts about the propriety of official cooperation in the defence of Chirol but Lord Hardinge in this matter was not able to overrule the sentiments of the bureaucracy.

Between Tilak and the Government of India stood the older leaders of the Congress. They shared Tilak's views of the bureaucracy even when they favoured milder programmes; they advocated moderation not because they had any faith in the success of moderrate attitudes, but because they felt that the country itself would suffer more from extremist policies than from the exercise of restraint. For them the Government had little use. Minto told Morley that he attached too much importance to Gokhale's views; Morley half believed that Indian leaders, specially the Moderates, were more interested in office than in responsible government. Between the Extremists and the Moderates, there was little understanding and less sympathy. The Government considered themselves isolated, with the Extremists pressing hard on them and the Moderates waiting to reap the harvest of any sowing done by either; the Moderates felt that they were being thrown to the wolves after being made full use of; and the Extremists loudly expressed their disappointment at the failure of the Moderates to enter battle on their side. As each of the three parties professed to represent the country and struggle for its good, each sought to interest the public in its own case.

So far as India was concerned, it might be called the years of disillusionment. Gokhale, whose faith in Britain had survived the experience of the plague year, was shaken by the Government's resistance to free and compulsory primary education; Tilak, despite his opposition to the bureaucracy and to the Government of India, had a confidence in British justice, which the judgment in the Chirol Case totally destroyed; Gandhi who began his political life in India as an unreserved cooperator, was so moved by the Punjab disorders and the British rally to the defence of the Punjab official that he publicly denounced the Government as "satanic" and advised his countrymen to have nothing to do with it. Interesting too and provoking fresh lines of speculation is the man-of-

destiny theme which recurs for the rest of Indian history, and which made its first appearance around 1915. Gokhale, who might have been expected to exercise a moderating influence on Indian politics died in February 1915; about eight months later, Phirozeshah Mehta, who wielded considerable influence in Western India politics, passed away. This left the field free for Tilak and the Nationalists, with Mrs. Besant as a formidable ally. Tilak who had borne the full force of the Government's repression and lost his faith in the British, nevertheless saw possibilities, after 1918 when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms devolved power in the provinces, of "responsive cooperation." But his death soon after, left the field free for Gandhi who had shifted from absolute cooperation to total opposition.

The Indian scene during the first two decades of the twentieth century is weird. The murder of Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst in 1896 in Poona was an isolated incident, though the men involved in it were members of a physical culture society. It was followed two years later by the murder of two brothers who had been rewarded by the Government for informing against the Chapekar brothers. These were, however, isolated crimes which were more significant for their consequences than for themselves. The Bombay Government with its memories of the Peshwas saw in them a conspiracy by Chitpavan Brahmins. Poona had been excited by the plague measures of the Government. Gokhale, during a visit to England, had made certain charges against the conduct of British soldiers in Poona which he had withdrawn with an apology when he found his informants unwilling to come forward with the evidence. He had been subjected to harsh treatment first by the British official and then by his own countrymen in Poona. Mr. N. C. Kelkar has remarked that Tilak had in his possession evidence in support of Gokhale but he had destroyed it on finding his sources too shunning publicity. Tilak had been actively engaged in Poona in fighting both the plague and the operations launched by the Government to fight it. He had forcefully urged that Rand's measures were needlessly harsh. The Government armed with Gokhale's retraction instituted sedition proceedings against Tilak. It may be added that the Extremists equally exploited Gokhale's apology which, though guarded in so far as it recorded appreciation

of Government's anti-plague measures and called for generosity in considering the conduct of soldiers, was too finely worded to satisfy controversialists on either extreme. Gokhale's apology which the *Indian Social Reformer* almost alone among the Indian newspapers upheld as no less than what in the circumstances any honourable citizen could do, has been a matter of continuous misrepresentation. It is a classic illustration of the controversies of the time which, read now in the old newspapers, make painful reading. Another instance of the manner in which Tilak and the Tilakites conducted their campaign was Tilak's misrepresentation of Gokhale's complaint that the Moderates were being overwhelmed by brute force. Tilak insisted that this meant no less than calling the people brutes.

The Press in India had become the instrument of politics. The Anglo-Indian Press hardened into the voice, acknowledged or unacknowledged, of the Government of India. Indian newspapers depended for their existence on the support of public opinion among Indians. An attempt to stabilise an Indian language newspaper with government subsidy was made in Bengal in 1911 but Narendranath Sen, who was willing to consider the proposal to start a Bengali newspaper with official patronage, was completely discredited because of it, despite his reputation as the fearless and outspoken editor of the *Indian Mirror*. Pat Lovett of the *Capital* commented on the lack of interest of the Indian educated classes in the Press, mentioning the *Hindu* of Madras as the single exception. There was a reason for this. Of the three men behind the *Bengalee* and the *Nayak*, Surendranath Bannerji was more politician than journalist; Panchcowrie Bannerji was moving to the right; and Prithwis Chandra Ray was breaking away to the left. Panchcowrie in his evidence on the Press laws in 1921, remarked that "the taste of the public has been vitiated so that nothing sells now except it is against the Government, something that is saucy, something that is venomous." Ray remarking that the control of the Press can be done by public opinion or by legislative enactments, went on to observe:

> Unfortunately for India, there is practically no wholesome public opinion to bring a seditious writer to ridicule and contempt or make him know his place in society; whatever public opinion there may be in the country rather goes to applaud and make a

> hero of the man who can take courage in both hands to defy law and order. It will take a long time yet for a healthy public opinion to assert itself and drive the irresponsible writer beyond the pale of decent society . . . . Therefore, until the commonsense of society comes to take its natural part in enforcing upon us a moral and constitutional restraint, laws have got to be depended on to do this sort of work for the well-being of the community.

Ray advocated committees consisting of a provincial minister as president with two members of the Government as members and two nominees of the Press to consider all matters relating to abuse of Press liberties. The proposal was acted on in a modified way during the Second World War when Press advising committees were set up, the Press representatives sitting with a member of the Government but having neither power nor responsibility. Panchcowrie, on the other hand, felt that the only remedy for persistent seditious writings was confiscation of the press which "creates a quietus."

The propagation of sedition in the Press had in those years become a very real problem. Government's fears of widespread conspiracy soon brought on the real thing beside which the Chitpavan Brahmin monster of the Bombay Government's making was a tame domesticated animal. From 1906 to 1920, political murder and dacoities in Bengal took place with impressive regularity. Want of sufficient evidence was mentioned by the Rowlatt Committee Report as the main cause for failing to put down crime by tracking down the offenders. It remarked: "Confessions made to the police are not evidence. As a corollary to this, there is no objection to the police questioning suspects without a caution, nor any disadvantage in answering. The result is that the facts are known because they cannot be proved." The Press was allowed considerable latitude, and the Indian language Press of Bombay and Calcutta used the freedom to support all kinds of activities, supplemented by newspapers and pamphlets from abroad. We find in these pages instructions on manufacturing bombs, organising secret societies and illustrations from the life and writings of Mazzini and the anarchist movement of Russia. The Government of India faced a situation in which terrorism had even reached the police force. Only the advent of war in 1914 and the activities of associations in communication with German organisations seeking to exploit Britain's difficulties in

India provided the opportunity to bring in extra-judicial measures to deal with the crisis. At the same time Woodrow Wilson's enunciation of self-determination had produced a change which maturer minds even among the revolutionaries saw as holding possibilities for political progress for India.

If Macaulay's animadversions on Indian character generally and Bengali character in particular were responsible for rousing Indians to revolutionary action, it has to be conceded that the Press added its contribution. Tilak was the central figure in this agitation because of the indiscreet attempt to involve him in the Rand murder and the equally indiscreet judicial act which sent him to imprisonment for eighteen months in 1897. To stretch the meaning of disaffection to cover absence of affection might have been necessary to secure conviction but the eagerness to convict that it implies was unfortunate—particularly since Tilak was known to have done good work among the people of Poona. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in an appraisal of Tilak has said that he was a scholar who had been caught up in politics by accident. Tilak however never had the detachment of the scholar. While he consistently objected to any suggestion that he sympathised with anarchic crime and urged time and again that political terrorism would not uproot the British Government in India, he was equally firm in not denouncing the anarchists. It was a distinction which appeared to the British to be political casuistry but his feeling of being victimised was too genuine and spontaneous to have been adopted as a pose. He had however enunciated too many general principles which unexceptionable in theory proved inflammatory in the peculiar conditions through which India was passing. It is possible today in the light of what has happened since to appreciate both Tilak's contribution to the fight for freedom and the suspicion and intolerance he spread all around. It was more difficult for his contemporaries to achieve this objectivity. The Press mirrors this condition faithfully. The period is significant for compelling even the Anglo-Indian newspapers to consider Indian questions. It is also important for giving a political twist to Indian newspapers, which drew the bulk of their revenue from subscriptions at the time.

The growth of news agencies dates too from this period. Foreign news was supplied by Reuter and the correspondents of the English-owned Press. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad had its own man attached to the Government of India, travelling between Calcutta and Simla.

Howard Hensman functioning in this capacity repeatedly scored over the representatives of the Calcutta Press—A. J. Buck of the *Englishman*, Everard Coates of the *Statesman*, and Dallas of the *Indian Daily News*. Since these correspondents—specially Hensman—were maintained at considerable expense by their newspapers, any proposal by the Government to set up channels of information to the Press was opposed strongly. Hensman was on very friendly terms with officials, with whom he maintained constant contact and with whom his newspaper had a special place. To counteract his success, the three other correspondents pooled their resources and the Associated Press was formed with Buck and Coates as Directors. K. C. Roy who worked with Dallas, was an efficient newsman and he was the main figure in the Associated Press. He demanded a directorship himself and, being refused it, withdrew to set up the Press Bureau in collaboration with U. N. Sen. Roy and the Press Bureau were absorbed by the Associated Press when he was given a directorship, and in time Coates was bought out by Reuter which assimilated it as part of their service. The result of these developments was the extinction of special correspondents who covered a wide territory and gave reports a personalized individual character.

After the Bengal Partition and before the First World War, the Government of India was sensitive about the Punjab; under pressure from the Lieutenant-Governor, Lajpatrai and Ajit Singh had been deported in 1907 because they indulged in political agitation. The act had been reluctantly supported by Morley in London and the strong reaction to the deportations of Indians of all shades of thought had secured the return of the two Punjab leaders. Morley had declared that the partition was a settled fact, and a mood of frustration seized the leaders of Bengal who had hoped that Curzon's disregard for Indian feelings would give way to a more responsive policy on his resignation. Whether the vehemence of the Press was the inspiration behind the outrages which occurred in Bengal or the Government's utter disregard of Indian opinion, the provocation, became the subject of argument between Tilak and the Government. Tilak realising the powers of the Government of India wrote and acted circumspectly. But again, despite Morley's doubts, the Bombay Government prevailed on the authorities to institute proceedings against Tilak for seditious writings, and the

Bombay High Court sentenced him to six years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 1,000. Almost the last writings of Tilak, before the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy at Muzaffarpur drew his attention, were on the Congress split at Surat which he considered as a triumph for bureaucracy. According to S. L. Karandikar, one of the biographers of Tilak, the directive from London to the revolutionary societies of Bengal was to carry on secret preparations and wait for the outbreak of the war in Europe. Tilak had learnt of this from P. M. Bapat and Har Dayal and, observes Mr. Karandikar, Tilak tried to find out what impelled these young men to hasty action, disregarding their own leaders but failed. In the words of the Sedition Committee of 1918 (Rowlatt), "The leader of the Poona extremists wàs Tilak, but the younger men who imbibed the teaching of the Extremist Press were prepared to go further than Tilak."

With Tilak's arrest in 1908, Indian politics entered on an entirely new phase which was to persist right through—but with one difference. Gokhale and others of his way of thinking were greatly shaken by the severity of the sentence but they all felt that Tilak would be released much earlier—possibly at the time of the Reforms due in the following year. When this did not happen, expectations rested on a release during the coronation of George V and were again disappointed. The Bombay Government barred the way and the Government of India was unable to press for release against the view of the Government directly involved. The Bombay Government put its case forcefully when it submitted:

> Beyond a certain point, we cannot depend on the active support of any section of the public or even of our own officers. The recent proceedings have universally been regarded as a trial of strength between the Government and Tilak; and, if the course of justice should now be deflected in Tilak's favour, people will generally suppose that his influence is the stronger and hasten to make friends with him while there is yet time.

In a developing situation where the Extremists were plunging beyond their depth and political crime at one end and government repression at the other raged, the Moderates—Pherozeshah Mehta, Gokhale, Rash Behari Ghosh and Surendranath Bannerjee—were anxious not to involve themselves with the Extremists. They failed

to receive appreciation from the Government because they were not prepared, except in grave emergency, to support Government's policy. And repressive laws had a habit of acquiring permanency on the statute book. It may be said that the Extremists for their part were eager to retain links with the Congress. This at least was true of Tilak who saw the dangers of disunity. The break with the Congress, and the inability to heal the breach, desperately as Tilak tried to do it, gave a touch of recklessness to provincial governments which the sobriety of the Centre and the caution of Morley could not restrain.

During the time Tilak was in Mandalay, much took place in India. The anarchists had weakened organisationally. The centre abroad which disseminated revolutionary literature in India, functioned with much less vigour and the Bengal terrorists were a spent force, the most ardent of them having been liquidated. The succession to the leadership of Bengal had passed from Surendranath Bannerjee through Bepin Chandra Pal to Aurobindo Ghose whose politics which at one time moved the whole of India, carried him in 1910 to religion and a life of meditation. Tilak on his return from Mandalay found a changed atmosphere in which the only constant factor was the Government's distrust of him. His declaration in answer to a welcome accorded him at Poona—"I am ready and willing to serve you in the same manner, in the same relation and in the same capacity as I did before, although I may perhaps have to modify the course a little"—was not calculated to reassure the Bombay Government. Fresh restrictions were imposed on him, and only the war brought some relief. The years 1914 to 1918 marked the return to constitutionalism and the gradual abandonment of political violence. Tilak played a leading part in this, returning to the Congress in 1916 after an absence of eight years. Annie Besant was a new entrant into politics and she proved a formidable ally, both founding Home Rule Leagues. But a new personality was already on the Indian scene—M. K. Gandhi who had earned his laurels in South Africa.

With the arrival of Gandhi, the political scene underwent transformation. Tilak had secured Congress acceptance of the definition of Swaraj as Home Rule; he favoured utilising the reforms of 1919 for further political progress and he was careful to express his reservations about the bureaucracy. Gandhi began with resisting all reservations but events in the Punjab and martial law and

repression in general changed his cooperation to equally vehement denunciation of all acceptance of, and participation in, the Government. This attitude, Gahdhi realised, could not be sustained for a long period and in order to make its austere programme acceptable he promised the achievement of freedom in one year if the response was adequate. Satyagraha, or non-cooperation, had been tried for the relief of specific evils. For application in the cause of independence, it required a many-sided programme of abstention and a disciplined campaign where the political worker would provoke without being provoked. It marked the advent of professionalism in politics. The Press occupied a key position in this agitation, though Gandhi was always inclined to give the Press a subordinate role and never quite able to carry it wholly with him.

The partition of Bengal, that settled fact of Morley's, was unsettled in 1911 but the capital was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 had enlarged the Legislative Council, given members the right to discuss the budget, move resolutions and ask questions, and added an Indian member to the Viceroy's Council. Morley was very emphatic that he did not favour parliamentary institutions for India. The proposals were disappointing but it is significant that the Indian Press steered clear from the rejection of the Extremists and the acceptance under protest of the Moderates. It was political party dissatisfaction with the Press that led to the launching of the *Leader* of Allahabad (1909) by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with the support of Phirozeshah Mehta, Dinshaw Wacha and Gokhale. In Bombay, however, an experiment with the *Advocate of India* proved a failure because of Phirozeshah Mehta's insistence on his views and it reverted to Anglo-Indian ownership. Only in 1913, did another attempt come with the *Bombay Chronicle* for which Phirozeshah tried to secure Pat Lovett and, finding him committed to Calcutta journalism, took on B. G. Horniman who had journalistic experience on the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Statesman*, and whose adoption of the Indian cause had earned him Indian support. The *Leader* and the *Bombay Chronicle* had a special attraction for the Congress leaders. The *Leader* took up the cause of the Moderates, while the *Bombay Chronicle* continued to be closely connected with the Congress.

The decade between the Morley-Minto Reforms and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which saw the further extension of constitutional reforms with dyarchy in the provinces and non-official majorities in the Centre, was a period of accelerated political activity. The Muslim League, born like the Congress itself out of the initiative of a British Governor-General, lacked the underpinning of indigenous leadership that the Congress had. Nor did it have the support of British independent opinion. A pact between the Congress and the League in 1916 conceded weightage to Muslim representation in the legislatures but secured the country from statutory majorities in predominantly Muslim areas. For all this, the Government firmly retained its powers to regulate the Press and control public meetings, despite pressure of Indian opinion. Two national newspapers came into existence with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms—the *Servant of India*, the weekly organ of the Servants of India Society, and the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi.

CHAPTER XIII

Repression and Reform

> We shall so work in the country, so combine the resources of the people, so develop the instincts of freedom in the community, that by this means we shall compel the submission to our will of any power that may set itself against us.
>
> —BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

LORD CURZON was an anachronism in Indian politics. It was his misfortune and the misfortune of India and Britain that he came to the viceroyalty at a time when India was passing through a national awakening. In his best work he established the idea of difference in British minds from Indians; in his worst he provoked the Indian temper to resistance and opposition. Before him, the British in India on rare occasions expressed themselves imperially; after him the mood of guarding their own interests which expressed itself in the agitation against the Ilbert Bill, became a fixed attitude of Anglo-Indians, capable of vigorous insistence on occasion and existing always as a sullen distrust of Indian progress. We have noted the dilution of quality as Western education spread to wider sections of the Indian community; the obverse of this is the influx of large numbers of Europeans which followed the extension of the railways and the telegraph and the development of industries. Nor should the words of Wilfred Scawen Blunt be forgotten—"the Englishwoman in India during the twenty years 1863-1883 has been the cause of half the bitter feelings between race and race."

An amusing comment on the barriers to social intercourse between Europeans and Indians is provided by Valentine Chirol:

> For the ordinary and somewhat desultory conversation which plays so large a part in Western sociability the Indian has very little understanding. He always imagines that conversation must have some definite purpose, and though he has, far more than most Englishmen, the gift of ready and courteous speech, and often will talk for a long time both discursively and pleasantly, it is almost always as a preliminary to the introduction of

some particular topic in which his personal interests are more or less directly involved.

The development of easy communications between India and England had also a dual effect on the Government of India: In the first place, it reduced the Government to the position of a department of the British Government; to make up for the loss of power imperious governors-general and governors delighted more in the pomp of office. In the second place, it took away the opportunity of balanced consideration in London of Indian problems. Western writers have tended to infer too much from stray remarks by Indian writers on the influence of the defeat of Italy by Abyssinia (1896), the discomfiture of Britain in South Africa and the defeat of Russia by Japan (1905) on Indian politics. But the Anglo-Indians made little effort to disguise their feeling of identity with the losing parties in these conflicts; and in other ways too, the British Press in India showed an attitude of racial superciliousness. Possibly the Irish question did more to educate Indians in the ways in which a European community deprived of political freedom and galled by the deprivation reacted to the supreme power. The British Labour Party, then struggling to make its way up in British public life, had all the political idealism of a party remote from office.

In this context, a significant development in the decade, 1896-1905, was the distrust of the educated Indian which possessed the British administrator and politically-minded Briton. Since the agitation against the various acts of the Government were expressed in the Indian Press which was in the hands of Indian professors and teachers, the fixed idea was planted that the educational system was wrong. Various defects were mentioned—the predominance of Indian teachers, there being in 1901 27,500 Indian teachers as against 500 Europeans; the absence of residential colleges; the use of English as the medium of education; the lack of facilities for scientific and technical education; the introduction to the powerful literature of revolt in the English language; and the insistence on secular education. Remedies were suggested which roused considerable suspicion on the Indian side or some amusement. For instance, the Maharaja of Jaipur advised Lord Minto to harness religious education to the cause of making Indians loyal and dutiful citizens of the Empire. He asked his fellow Chiefs to engage Pandits and Moulvies in their schools "to instil in the minds of their pupils

correct notions as to the duty they owe to the community they belong to and to their Sovereign." The absurdity of this proposal is apparent when one finds in the Indian Press of the time a fervently religious approach to politics, when in Bengal the deification of the motherland was proceeding apace and in Maharashtra the Shivaji cult was earnestly fostered. Equally fantastic was the frustration of Gokhale's Primary Education Bill both because of the expense it would entail to have free and compulsory primary education and because it might increase the power of political extremists.

There were no conquests but the Indian Princes were brought under closer supervision by Lord Curzon whose sense of history included the effective supremacy of the paramount power. Feeling ran high in India in 1905 when Curzon effected the partition of Bengal; the students of Calcutta were drawn into the agitation, and the rural areas were no less worked up than the city. The agitation expressed itself in fervent adoption of *swadeshi* (patronage of indigenous products) and boycott of foreign goods. It was also attended by anarchic crime in Bengal, and Maharashtra with echoes in Madras and the Punjab. The political importance of terrorist crime lay more in its effect on the Government and its supporters in the Anglo-Indian Press than in the support it had in the country. The sedition section was resorted to widely, and, in the turbulent India that Curzon left behind him, an attempt was made to secure quieter conditions by tightening up the laws. British Liberalism, now in power, proved a source of disillusionment; but the British Government was less reluctant to accept resignations from officials in India who sought refuge in the sanction of resignation against Indian opinion. Even though the mild rebuke was gently administered by the Secretary of State, British writers in India expressed their dismay at the prospect of Indians rejoicing at a house divided. The Indian National Congress, the premier political organisation in the country, ambled towards its first crisis at Surat in 1907, when extremists were turned out after the more sober politicians revealed the weakness of their hand. Minto who succeeded Curzon, had no mind for the subtleties of politics; Morley appreciated too late the necessity of overcoming the prejudices of the bureaucracy in India; Gokhale felt helpless in the wave of repression passing over India. Tilak who expected little politically from the two leading British parties, struck a consistent note throughout. He rejected ideas of overthrowing British suzereignty not because he disapproved of them

ideologically but because he saw their futility. As a matter of fact, Gokhale did not know the worst. Morley's estimate of him, disguised skilfully during all the talks that took place between the two, was that he could be won over by promise of office. But something of this suspicion showed itself in Morley's policy.

To the sober politician, violence came as a rude shock. It revolted men like Sir Phirozeshah Mehta who were isolated by it from the main stream of politics; but it drove others to acquiescence in the policies of the Government, even if under protest. Tilak, however, looked on repression and anarchic violence as incidents without great relevance to the general political situation. His unemotional approach to the terrorist acts disturbed the officials. Tilak's contribution to journalism is but a part of his many-sided work. But it stands out because it was Tilak who by his example demonstrated what the editor's responsibility under the law was. Gangadharrao Deshpande who accompanied Tilak on his tour of the Karnatak districts, gives an illuminating account of a report of a meeting in Bailhongal in 1907:

> Tilak intentionally made a short speech and asked me to summarise it in Kannada. "I have never addressed meetings in Kannada," said I, "how can I summarise your speech?" "Go on. I am here," he assured me, and added, "I have gone to jail for the writings of others; and if I have to do so for your translation, I shall just face it."

This is the one clear fact that emerges out of the amazingly hysterical period which the Press in India passed through. The Anglo-Indian Press had set itself to be the defender of the Government and its technique was to belittle Indians of both the extremist and sober schools. The Anglo-Indian Press was not a danger to the Government; and, as the official apologist Valentine Chirol put it, there were but "occasional lapses from good taste and right feeling," at any rate not defying the Government or challenging its acts. The Government took a kindly view of the offences of the British Press; the *Times of India* pulled up for flagrant contempt of court in the Tilak trial (1897) was let off with a warning. Gokhale commented on the irritation caused by the articles in the English-owned Press. "The terms of race arrogance and contempt in which some of these newspapers constantly speak of Indians, and specially of

educated Indians, cut into the mind more than the lash can cut into the flesh. Many of my countrymen imagine that every Anglo-Indian pen that writes in the Press, is dipped in government ink. It is an absurd idea but it does great harm all the same." An interesting footnote to this is furnished by an incident narrated by Natarajan. Lovat Fraser who was about to leave India, was anxious to meet Gokhale whom he had frequently criticised in the *Times of India*, and make his peace with him. "Tell Gokhale," he asked Natarajan, "that I would like to see him; explain that one often writes in the night something one is ashamed to see in print next day." It was a curious request but one that was quite understandable in Fraser. Natarajan conveyed the message. Gokhale stood for a while in thought. Then, "If it had been an Indian editor," he said, "I would have seen him without a thought of dignity; but an English editor, no, even you cannot ask it of me." Fraser, said Natarajan, when he heard this, commented, "I understand."

The Government again was no more a danger to the Anglo-Indian Press. In 1903, Gokhale, opposing the amending of the Official Secrets Act of 1870 to cover civil as well as military and naval matters, put the point effectively: "I would like to see the official who would dare to arrest and march to the Police Thana the editor of an Anglo-Indian newspaper. But so far as Indian editors are concerned, there are, I fear, officers in this country who would not be sorry to march whole battalions of them to the Police Thana." Gokhale went on to expose the system of confidential circulars "which seek to take away in the dark what has been promised again and again in the Acts of Parliament, the proclamations of Sovereigns and the responsible utterances of successive Viceroys." He concluded with feeling that the unlimited power it possesses inclines the Government constantly to repressive legislation. The Act was passed with modifications to meet some of the objections of the Press—the Anglo-Indian Press too had its doubts—but what remained was still restrictive of the liberties of the Press. Gokhale put the case for the Press strongly in a passage that is memorable:

> Nowhere throughout the British Empire is the Government so powerful relatively to the governed as in India. Nowhere, on the other hand, is the Press so weak in influence, as it is with us. The vigilance of the Press is the only check that operates from outside, feebly, it is true, but continuously, upon the conduct of

the Government, which is subject to no popular control. It is here, therefore, if anywhere, that the Legislature should show special consideration to the Press, and yet here alone it is proposed to arm Government with a greater power to control the freedom of the Press than in any other part of the Empire. My Lord, we often hear Government complaining of the distrust shown by the people in this country, and the people complaining of the Government not trusting them enough. In such a situation, where again the question is further complicated by a tendency on the part of the Government to attach undue importance to race or class consideration, the wisest and safest and most statesmanlike course for it is to conduct its civil administration as far as possible in the light of day. The Press is, in one sense, like the Government, a custodian of public interests, and any attempt to hamper its freedom by repressive legislation is bound to affect these interests prejudicially, and cannot fail in the end to react upon the position of the Government itself.

Gokhale's remarks about the weakness of the Indian Press were borne out by the paucity of daily newspapers presenting the Indian view. There was no Indian daily newspaper in Bombay; in Madras and the Punjab, the political movement was nurtured on the writings of other provinces and the revolutionary material smuggled in from abroad. The Government's policy bore out this fact. The first repressive measure was the Ordinance and Act to control public meetings (1907), followed by the Newspapers (incitement to offences) Act of June 1908. On the application of the Local Government, a Magistrate was empowered by conditional order to seize a printing press, if he was convinced that a newspaper printed therein contained any incitement to murder or to an act of violence or to an offence under the Explosive Substances Act. This conditional order could be made absolute either by an *ex parte* decision in an emergency or after hearing evidence from persons concerned against the conditional order. Police sub-inspectors were to carry out the magistrate's order under warrant and a right of appeal to the High Court lay within 15 days of the order being made absolute. Proceedings under the Act did not save any person from being prosecuted under any other law, and on the order being made absolute the Local Government could annul the declaration by the printer or publisher and prohibit any further declaration in respect

of the newspaper or any newspaper which was in substance the same as the prohibited newspaper.

Following on this, the Governor of Bombay announced his determination in the Legislative Council at Poona to put down seditious agitators; and proceedings were instituted against first S. M. Paranjpye, a friend of Tilak's who had through his writings in the *Kal* won a considerable following in Maharashtra; and then against Tilak. The Punjab which under the Lieutenant-Governor, Densil Ibbetson, was passing through a period of agrarian trouble, deported Lajpatrai and Ajit Singh—the fear of the army being disaffected being used as justification. Bengal deported nine—Krishna Kumar Mitra, Aswini Kumar Dutt, Shyam Sundar Chakrabarthy, Pulin Behari Das, Manoranjan Guha, and Bhupesh Chandra Nag. Aurobindo Ghosh (*Bande Mataram*), Brahmabandhay Upadhyaya (*Sandhya*), and Bhupendra Nath Dutt (*Jugantar*) the brother of Swami Vivekananda were prosecuted. Bepin Chandra Pal who was questioned about Aurobindo's editorship, refused to give information and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment; the printer was also sent to jail. In May 1908, the Alipore Conspiracy Case was launched, netting in 34 persons on the charge of conspiracy. One of the accused, Narendra Gossain, turned approver and was shot dead in prison by two revolutionaries; the Public Prosecutor and a Deputy Superintendent of Police were shot dead. Three other members of revolutionary societies were murdered to prevent their giving information. Aurobindo was arrested in connection with the Alipore Conspiracy and he was held in detention during the trial, placed in solitary confinement for part of the period. On his release he refused the editorship of the *Bengalee*, would not restart the *Bande Mataram*, but launched two journals, the *Karmayogin* and the *Dharma*, mainly devoted to Hindu religious topics. A third prosecution in 1910 was launched but he was in Pondicherry at the time and did not return to British India. Deciding that the country was not ready yet for his political programme, Aurobindo devoted himself to religion. Morley was extremely reluctant to sanction deportations but he could not resist the pressure of the provincial governors who pressed Minto hard for strong measures.

The repressive laws paralysed political work in India. Gokhale who was able to see many sides of a question, visualised the Indian situation as a stalemate in which the repressive laws of the Govern-

ment were fed by the activities of the terrorists. He appreciated the necessity for the Government meeting the emergency but he deplored the continuance of emergency measures after the need was over. Phirozeshah Mehta deplored the revolutionary movement but did not feel that the Government should be supported in repression. He had supported a plea for the return of Lajpatrai but did not want the name of Ajit Singh to be linked with him. Of the extremists, D. V. Tahmankar, biographer of Tilak, gives a short but useful summing up:

> Aurobindo Ghosh in the first flush of revolutionary activity shot up into the political firmament like a meteor, but could not stand the rigours of political persecution and after a short time disappeared from the political scene. He became a recluse, retired to Pondicherry and devoted the rest of his life to the study of philosophy and mysticism. Pal was a great orator and a man of lively imagination but he lacked political discipline. Lajpatrai travelled to the United States, soon after Tilak's transportation to Mandalay, and did useful work there as an Indian propagandist. His critics have charged him, not without some justification, with escapist tendencies in politics . . . . Even Tilak had on occasion thought the conduct of Ghosh and Lajpatrai odd in that they stayed away from the battlefield.

The Indian National Congress without the Extremists did invaluable work during the years 1907 to 1915. It kept political activities alive, though the dominant feeling among the Moderates was the fear that on the slightest excuse the Government in its mood of the time would crush the Congress in a moment. There were two distinct schools of thought prevailing in Indian politics: Accepting generally the view that the Queen's proclamation and subsequent declarations promising equality between the subjects of the Crown were not respected, Viceroys from Lytton to Minto, British officialdom in India and the Press represented by the London *Times* and the Anglo-Indian Press, on the one hand, favoured an abandonment of the promise; on the other hand, Indians naturally clung desperately to the proclamation and declarations and reiterated their faith in British promises to a degree of irritation to the bureaucracy. Indian opinion again was divided—the Moderates holding that the Congress could only by avoiding offensive phrasing

continue to function; the Extremists believing that by strong resolutions and a programme of persistent opposition to the Government the Congress could absorb the terrorists and even tame them. There was a boisterous minority which thought in terms of the revolutionaries capturing the Congress, and they were sufficiently in alliance with the Extremists to perturb the Moderates. As was to happen frequently in later years, the Indian differences remained unresolved not because of the recriminations indulged in but because of unexpressed fears which dominated the situation.

In Madras and the South, Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Siva were sentenced to six years' transportation; Srinivas Iyengar, editor of the Tamil *India*, was deported for five years; the editor and proprietor of Telugu *Swaraj* were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. In the Central Provinces, the editor of *Hari Kishore* was sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment, and the press confiscated. In the United Provinces, the editor of the *Urdu-i-Moalla* was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500; and Hoti Lal Varma was deported for seven years for communicating a seditious message to the *Vande Matram*. The sentences revolted Morley who wrote privately to Minto in July 1908:

> I must confess to you that I am watching with the deepest concern and dismay the thundering sentences that are now being passed for sedition, etc. I read today that stone-throwers in Bombay are getting twelve months. This is really outrageous. The sentences on the two Tinnevelly-Tuticorin men are wholly indefensible—one gets transportation for life, the other for ten years . . . .I cannot on any terms whatever consent to defend such monstruous things. I do therefore urgently solicit your attention to these wrongs and follies. We must keep order, but excess of severity is not the path to order. On the contrary, it is the path to the bomb.

Morley, as opposed to the practical Minto, had shrewd political sense. In his letters to the Viceroy, he had, apart from declaring his aversion to strong action, dwelt on certain broad principles. He had recurring doubts about parliamentary institutions meeting Indian conditions. But he recognised that the British could not plan for permanency in India, that the best they could attempt in

reforms was to provide a transition to the next step and ensure a smooth transition, and that the split in the Congress far from leaving the Congress flat pointed to a future when the Congress would have become an extremist organisation. He saw the short-term and long-term consequences of Tilak's forcible removal from the political scene. Nevertheless he allowed himself to be overruled by lesser men because of the clamour of Anglo-India. The strident tones of the London *Times* first declared, "We have won India by the sword; and, in the last resort, we hold it by the sword"; and the whole of Anglo-India picked up the cry. The *Statesman*, the *Englishman* and the *Asian* of Calcutta, the *Times of India*, Bombay, the *Pioneer*, Allahabad, and other Anglo-Indian newspapers had drifted into a policy of supporting the Government and the British community indiscriminately. The channels of communication between these newspapers and officialdom were powerful, and currents of hysteria passed from one to the other. The ostracising of Lord Ripon and his supporters by the British of Calcutta, the bitter baiting of the unusual Dutchman, Lord Reay, Bombay's Governor, in the *Times of India*, the enthusiastic acclaim accorded to Lord Curzon by the British Press in India marked the high lights of this alliance; the steady campaign for stringent laws to control the expression of opinion, the consistent belittling of Indian statesmen, the careful preparation of the case in order to influence Minto and to draw Morley into the net were the obverse of the medal. The strong hand of Curzon removed, the satraps found in Minto the Viceroy who had taken refuge from the strain of centralisation in a convenient theory of devolving power, a pliable chief; Minto found the Governors of Bombay and Madras, and the Governor-General of Bengal and the Punjab intractable. Morley's official communications were all that Minto could desire; but his private letters and telegrams proved constant source of worry for the Viceroy. Stanley Reed has left on record Minto's reaction to the appointment of Hardinge as his successor. Minto thought it was a good choice but he regretted wistfully that Hardinge would not have Morley to deal with for at least six months—a regret that expressed diplomatically Minto's irritation at Morley's constant nagging.

Viceroy and Sectetary of State were rather fearful of rousing opposition from the British community in India, and the Anglo-Indian Press had grown in strength into the powerful organ of British Indian opinion. It had grown out of the amateurism of

the last two decades of the nineteenth century in Calcutta and Bombay. In Madras, the *Madras Mail* under Henry Beauchamp, an ex-official of the salt department, followed a sober policy and built the *Mail* to be the organ of British commercial and planting interests. In Allahabad and Lahore, the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* were more in the nature of daily magazines than newspapers. The *Pioneer* had a special position throughout India as the voice of the British official and enjoyed a circulation of some 4,000. The *Times of India* sold 3,000 copies and, in the absence of an Indian owned English daily, supported up to a point the moderate leaders of the Indian National Congress. The *Statesman* passed from vigorous support of Indian opinion to its advocacy of British commercial interests after a brief flicker of pro-Indian writing under S. K. Radcliffe. These developments helped to place Anglo-Indian newspapers on a sound financial footing in Bombay and Calcutta. Bennett did for the *Times of India* on the material side what Robert Knight had done for the *Statesman*. He set up new machinery, he acquired land from the Improvement Trust and erected the buildings, and he took on his staff trained professional journalists like Lovat Fraser and Stanley Reed. Fraser the leading journalist of his times won for the newspaper the tribute of Curzon that it was the first newspaper in Asia and by his forceful comments gave it an all-India status. Stanley Reed introduced efficient reporting and brought down the price from four annas to one anna when the challenge of the one anna *Bombay Chronicle* confronted it in 1913. And under the able business management of E. G. Pearson its circulation went up to more than 12,000. In contrast to officially influenced journalism in Calcutta, the Anglo-Indian Press of Bombay had a relatively independent life. When Hardinge was attacked by the Calcutta Press for transferring the capital to Delhi, he told his closest associates that they would get justice in Bombay. As the Anglo-Indian Press drew closer to the bureaucracy and became stabilised, a change came over it. No longer were Englishmen willing to venture into journalism without counting the risks; since there was only one point of view to be expressed, there was room for only one newspaper in each centre to express the bureaucratic-business view which was that of the English owned Press in India; and, if the English editor was still an important personality in the British community, the manager of a newspaper was slowly coming up in the Press world.

Very different was the case of the Indian Press, both English and Indian language. Every Indian newspaper came into being to express a point of view and with the spread of education and the development of representative institutions there were many points of view clamouring to be heard. With the striking exception of the *Hindu* which adopted a professionalism that gave it the advantage over the British-owned *Madras Mail*, most Indian newspapers neglected the commercial side and concentrated on developing ideas. Functioning under restrictions—the Indian Press Act had replaced the Newspapers (incitement to offences) Act of 1908 two years later incorporating its provisions—Indian newspapers were forced to live in the present rather than to build for the future. Several newspapers ceased publication in 1908 after the first Act was passed, most of them expressing sympathy and support for the terrorists. Nine prosecutions were instituted—and of the seven presses confiscated, four were in Bengal, two in the Punjab and one in Bombay. Any hope that the hardships inflicted by this Act were temporary, were shattered when the Indian Press Act was passed in 1910. Its introduction was against the opposition of the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council. Sir S. Sinha the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council even contemplated resignation. But the murder of a police officer outside the Calcutta High Court secured its adoption, only Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Bhupendra Nath Basu opposing. Morley who did not favour the Act, had given his consent to avoid provoking the opposition of officials to the Reforms which had been promulgated earlier. The reactionary influence of Anglo-Indian opinion is further shown by the hesitancy with which Minto's proposal to have an Indian on the Viceroy's Council was considered. Both Minto and Morley expected opposition from the British in India and were pleasantly surprised when there was general acquiescence.

From 1910 to 1914, there were several demands for security. In 1910, Aurobindo Ghose's *Dharma* and *Karmayogin* closed down when a security of Rs. 2,000 was demanded from each; in Bombay, the *Kal* of Poona, the *Rashtramat* of Bombay and the *Sakli* of Surat ceased publication on Rs. 5,000 being asked as security, and the Ahmedabad *Rajasthan* ended on a demand of Rs. 1000, while the *Gujarati* of Bombay paid Rs. 2,500 and continued publication; the *Mujaddid* of Lahore, the *Desha Sewak* of Nagpur and the *Frontier Advocate* of Dehra Ismail Khan were called on to deposit

Rs. 2,500, Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 4,000 respectively and all three ceased publication. In 1911, the *Daily Hitavadi* was killed with a demand of Rs. 5,000 and the *Almuin* of Amritsar with a demand for Rs. 1,500. The *Panch Bahadur*, Bombay, paid in Rs. 500 and continued publishing; the *Jhang Sial* in the Punjab deposited Rs. 1,000 and kept on; and the Delhi *Alhaq* paid in Rs. 1,000. In 1912, the *Kesari* of Poona deposited Rs. 5,000 as demanded but the *Kathiawar* and *Mahi Kantha Gazette* of Ahmedabad refused to deposit Rs. 2,000, continued publication and on the conviction of the editor to pay a fine of Rs. 300, closed down finally. In 1913-14, a Tamil paper in Tanjore paid a security of Rs. 500, while the *Albidayar* of Delhi and the *Ahl-i-Hadis* of Amritsar ceased publcation on a demand for Rs. 2,000. The ferocity of the "sedition-hunt", as Gokhale called it, was worst in Bombay.

In 1913, the Criminal Law Amendment Act was passed, followed on the outbreak of war next year by the Defence of India Regulations, which were utilised to stifle criticism and silence agitation. A picture of the Press emerges from a number of documents of which the first is the memorandum of the Press Association of India which had been formed in 1915 to protect the interests of the Press. The memorandum which was submitted in 1919, pointed out that up to 1917 twenty-two newspapers had been called on to furnish security and 18 of them had shut down rather than function under official tutelage. Between 1917 and 1919, some 963 newspapers and printing presses which had existed before the Press Act of 1910, had been proceeded against under the Act—in all 286 cases of warning which stifled the victims, and 705 cases of demand of heavy security and forfeitures by executive order. There were too 173 new printing presses and 129 new newspapers that were killed at birth by security demands, and many more were deterred from coming into being by the very presence of the Act. The Association observed that the Government collected nearly Rs. 500,000 during the first five years of the Act by securities and forfeitures, and that later there were more accelerated receipts; it was also stated that over 500 publications were proscribed under the Act. The Defence of India Rules, it further pointed out, was used not only for war purposes but also to repress political agitation and free comment; it added, "The total number of orders under the Defence of India Act to which presses and papers were subjected for purposes unconnected with the pursuit of the war were very large, varied, arbitrary,

contradictory and often ludicrous to a degree." Under these conditions the Indian Press functioned in a crippled fashion, and not all the protests availed to move the Government.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms admitted more Indians into the Viceroy's and Governors' executive councils, introduced Dyarchy in the provinces, accepted responsible government for India, gave separate electorates with weightage for Muslims, and further extended the power of debate in the legislatures. The services of India during the war had been impressive, and, though the reactionaries insisted that the cooperating elements were not interested in constitutional reforms, British opinion as a whole was disposed to consider reforms favourably. Montagu who had been Under-Secretary with Morley, was instrumental as Secretary of State in carrying through the reforms. He had secured considerable support from Indians, was deeply impressed by Tilak's integrity and popularity, and showed an inclination to ride down warning voices from the British community in India and the powerful concentration of ex-viceregal opinion in Britain. Tilak favoured a policy of using the reforms to gain more freedom for Indians as the best suited to conditions in the country. Mrs. Annie Besant and Gandhi who had come to count in Indian politics, were for full cooperation as against Tilak's advocacy of responsive cooperation; and while between Tilak and Mrs. Besant a wide rift sprang up, between Tilak and Gandhi there was an understanding that, where the one could not support the other, he would not oppose him. Gandhi did not press for full cooperation when Tilak expounded his theory, and later, when Gandhi changed over from full cooperation to absolute opposition, Tilak indicated that, though he felt the programme could not be worked, he would not go against Gandhi.

The Sedition Committee Report (1919) following soon on the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report threw out a spark which rapidly kindled into a nation-wide fire. The Committee which was presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt, recommended strengthening the executive. It was the general Indian opinion that the recommendations would deprive Indians of their fundamental rights. Nevertheless legislation was passed implementing the recommendations, and Gandhi undertook a Satyagraha campaign to protest against the laws. The agitation was to take the form of reading publicly, copying and distributing proscribed literature openly, and courting punishment. The protest date was fixed for

March 30 but, owing to incidents in Delhi where the police opened fire on a mammoth procession, it was postponed to April 6. Gandhi who had conducted a successful demonstration in Bombay, was stopped from entering the Punjab. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre and martial law in the Punjab followed in quick succession. Far from responding to Indian opinion and modifying the laws, the Government found itself forced to adopt harsher measures. The conduct of General Dyer and Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab O'Dwyer came in for strong condemnation in the Indian Press but the Anglo-Indian Press condoned General Dyer's action and even went so far as to justify the excesses of the Martial Law regime.

Though every effort was made to prevent news from the Punjab reaching other parts of India, a great deal did leak out and Indian newspapers adopted a uniformly firm attitude of condemnation. Sankaran Nair, a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council by no means well-disposed to Gandhi's programme of boycott and non-cooperation, has left it on record that what was revealed was much less than the facts showed. But the Press was penalised. The *Bombay Chronicle* lost its editor, Horniman, who was deported, was permitted to resume publication under censorship with security deposit of first Rs. 5,000 and then Rs. 10,000. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* forfeited its first security of Rs. 5,000 and deposited Rs. 10,000. The *Tribune* was asked to furnish Rs. 2,000 security, its editor was sentenced to imprisonment and fine. The *Punjabee* was forced to close down. The *Hindu* and the *Swadesimitran* in Madras were asked to furnish securities of Rs. 2,000 each and the *Hindu* was banned from the Punjab and from Burma. And all over the country a number of papers were made to furnish security.

As the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in 1921 appointed a Committee with himself as chairman to go into the Press laws. Written evidence was called for and witnesses were examined. There were eight statements, and 18 witnesses were examined of whom 15 were editors—a small number considering that the Committee covered the Press of the whole country. Eight prominent journalists were approached but they were "unwilling or unable" to appear before the Committee. Kasturi Ranga Aiyanger of the *Hindu* gave his evidence in camera and McCarthy of the *Rangoon Gazette* followed his example. Though the proceedings were not open to the Press and the printed report was an

expurgated version of the evidence, there is a great deal to be learnt from its perusal.

The single spokesman of the Anglo-Indian Press, Edwin Haward, was more conversant with managerial than editorial problems. He conceded that, though the Anglo-Indian editor had no reason to fear executive action, he had the same fears and apprehensions as the Indian editor when he wrote. Mrs. Besant who drew from her experience in Madras, remarked in her written memorandum:

> That which was safe in Bombay entailed forfeiture in Madras, so that an embarrassed Editor had to find out what were the particular subjects on which his own Governor was sensitive. Even in the same province there is no uniformity. An Anglo-Indian editor in Madras was allowed to make the most violent attacks on Indians who advocated the reforms that are now law. But if an Indian paper replied to the attack, it found itself accused of exciting hatred. A Christian paper attacked the Muslims in an insulting way but the Government took no notice, while a Muslim paper was censured for attacking Christians.

In the oral examination of several witnesses, it seemed to be accepted that nine-tenths of the editors in Northern India were semi-educated; the Chairman, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, remarked that, excepting one or two, they were men with scarcely any culture about them. Indian newspapers again relied more on circulation than on advertisements for their revenue though Mrs. Besant thought it was discreditable to have newspapers that "catered to the tastes of subscribers." Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru believed that in Bombay and Madras it was different but that Indian newspapers received little advertisement was obvious. The *Bombay Chronicle* was maintained by philanthropy as a public service, and the other language newspapers existed solely to express a point of view. Tilak had introduced an innovation when he directed the creation of a trust to carry on his newspapers after him but there were few willing to follow his example.

The Press Law Committee tried to learn who controlled a newspaper—the editor or the proprietor. There were conflicting views: Mrs. Besant insisted that it was only in rare cases that the editor and the proprietor and keeper of the printing press were one; she was not precise but she suggested that the proprietor of the press

also owned the newspaper and the editor was a paid employee. K. C. Roy of the Associated Press had wide experience of the Press as a whole. He testified that the Press Act had affected the recruitment of newspaper men, that the Act had killed the small ventures which were only used for seditious propaganda, and that the admission of Indians to executive authority even to the limited extent of the provisions of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms necessitated freeing the Press from executive influence and interference. At the same time, he favoured the encouragement of party newspapers with "moral support" from the Government; and, since the questions and answers following this exposition were censured, the inference that the "moral support" meant really political patronage is not unfair. But he pointed out that with Surendranath Bannerjee becoming a Minister the *Bengalee* could not be considered as the same as the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*. Mr. Roy mentioned that as a news agency supplying news to all the papers the Associated Press had to exercise restraint over the messages it circulated. Maulvi Mahbub Alam of the *Paisa Akhbar* of Lahore brought out the fact that newspapers with large presses were not anxious to offend the law.

Prithwis Chandra Ray, Editor of the *Bengalee*, and Panchcowrie Banerjee, Editor of the *Nayak*, gave valuable testimony of the position of the editor in an Indian-owned newspaper. Mr. Ray dismissed the publisher and printer as ignorant persons who knew nothing of the Press laws or of the contents of their papers. They had to suffer for the writings of others. On the other hand, he admitted that the *Bengalee* was more a commercial proposition than a propaganda organ and it hesitated to support the Government strongly lest it lose public support and it was timid in politics because he had to consider the interests of the proprietors. Panchcowrie Banerjee was more outspoken and he held the contrary view that editors were mere dummies. He remarked:

> More or less we editors and printers are dummies in the hands of our proprietors. I am not ashamed to confess that we are obliged at time to take to seditious writings by our proprietors because it sells .... My name and Surendranath's name have got a commercial value and that is why they allowed Surendranath's name to be published in the front page of the *Bengalee*. Similarly they have allowed my name to be printed in the *Nayak*

cable ce it has a commercial value . . . . I do not know why you favourd give protection to the Indian Princes. It is the Princes India come to us with their own wrongs and grievances with a by ndle of money behind. Why should the British Government onve protection to the Maharaja of this or that place when he goes to Bengal or the United Provinces with a good jingling bundle of rupees ? We do no business with Maharajas on credit. They must put down the money first before getting an article written by any one of us.

An interesting exchange between the chairman who was a Director of the *Bombay Chronicle*, and Panchcowrie Banerjee brought out forcefully the relation between editor and proprietor. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru asked pointedly whether Panchcowrie's remarks about the subordinate part of the editor would apply to the *Chronicle*, on which the following discussion took place:

Question: Don't you think the editor is responsible there and not the Directors?

Answer: Not always the editor; poor man, he has so many gods to propitiate. Take the case of Horniman: he has been under various Boards of Directors; first under the Board which was composed of Moderates, then under Home Rulers.

Question: Do you mean to say that a powerful personality like Mr. Horniman would be influenced by a Board of Directors?

Answer: What was he when he was on the staff of the *Statesman*?

It was the considered opinion of Panchcowrie Banerjee who claimed that during the thirty-one years of his journalistic career he had been editor in chief of "almost all the leading Bengali and Hindi newspapers in Calcutta," that the commercial spirit had become the dominant force in journalism, that, though the Non-cooperation Movement was cashing in on the political agitation of the Press for fifty years, it was not being pushed by the Press, and that the public platform was more widely exploited to spread anti-British feeling.

A feature of the Indian Press that was frequently commented on, was that conditions had changed radically since the Press Act was enacted. The appeal to violence had disappeared but the general

tone had become embittered. Differences of opinion were employee. ing themselves, and hopes were generally entertained thahe Press newspapers would soon emerge. Since the witnesses were recruit- from the Moderate section of the Press, the evidence was unfantures able to the few newspapers—the *Servant* of Calcutta, the *Ar*dmis- *Bazaar Patrika*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, and Motilal Nehru's sho of lived *Independent* are the ones quoted most—that were regarded ed supporters of the Gandhian movement of Non-cooperation. There was a very small Muslim Press in the country and the evidence indicated that in the event of foreign attack India would again be solidly behind Britain—unless some Muslim invader with European support raised the cry of religious war when Muslim opinion would be hostile.

The Press Laws Committee recommended the repeal of the 1908 and 1910 Acts, the amendment of the Registration of the Press and Books Act to empower seizure of seditious literature, to ensure the printing of the editor's name in every issue of a newspaper, and to reduce the maximum penalty of imprisonment to six months. In its brief report, the Committee mentioned that "more direct and violent forms of sedition are now disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerant propagandists than by the Press" and expressed the hope that with the growth of representative institutions party newspapers would develop. The Committee affirmed that the two Acts had done little to check the evils they were meant to restrain, but it took note of the fact that the revolutionary movement which was strong at the time of the passing of the Acts, had died out, the revolutionary organisations having broken up and several of their members having recognised the possibility of achieving their aims through constitutional means. On the subject of legislating to protect Indian Princes from attacks in the British Indian Press, the Committee noted the unanimity among witnesses in protesting against it and found that such protection was not necessary.

A great deal took place between 1910 and 1920 which influenced the growth of the Press, in contrast to the restrictive influence of the Press Act. The Imperial Press Conference which met in London in 1909, was attended by Surendranath Bannerjee representing the Indian-owned Press and Stanley Reed among the representatives of the British Press in India. It was at the instance of Reed that

cable charges were drastically cut and the cheaper press rates favoured by Curzon came into existence. The amendment of the Indian Telegraph Act enabled news agencies to come into being by extending press facilities to them—till then a news agency was only able to function through the correspondentship of a newspaper. And towards the end of the war in 1918, Stanley Reed was asked to organise publicity for the Government of India and at the personal request of Chelmsford he continued despite the opposition of officialdom. Indian editors too were invited by the British Government to visit England and the war theatres. The delegation, virtually headed by Kasturi Ranga Aiyengar of the *Hindu*, visited the war sites and reached England after the armistice was signed. Significantly too the influence of Lionel Curtis had succeeded that of Valentine Chirol and the "vilifying of Indians in the English Press" evoked at least occasional official displeasure. The war itself had shown that fears and expectations of powerful Indian support to England's enemies were unfounded; but it had also opened out to the less Westernised Indian in the army a new world—what the Indian soldiers saw there was soon conveyed to those at home. The newspapers had nothing as striking to say as these returned soldiers. Criticism in Britain of the Government of India's inept handling of Mesopotamia, fears of entrenched positions being shaken in post-war India, and the suspicion that Tilak might succeed only too well in his objective of using the war to make Indians better fit to manage their own affairs had combined to unsettle the British in India. The local Governments were reluctant to relinquish the emergency powers they had taken on; and the weakest of these was the Government of the Punjab which saw discontent as marks of conspiracy. Even before the war there had been the Komagato Maru incident where a body of Sikhs, returning after an infructuous attempt to break the immigration barriers in North America, had met with trouble in India. The war had changed conditions in India. Lord Hardinge had taken the bold step of denuding the country of British troops and several British officials had been allowed to join the army and do war work. The ordinary administrative services were almost entirely in Indian hands. Thompson and Garratt in their *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* observe:

If ever the British abdicated their position in India, it was during

> these war years, and it is impossible to understand the general resentment and ill-feeling which followed the armistice without seeing that from the Indian standpoint this voluntary and peaceful abdication was followed by a determined if unavowed effort to return to pre-War conditions .... There is no reason to believe that the sudden revulsion of feeling which threw Mr. Gandhi so violently against the Government after the War was a mere politician's *volte face*. It must be chiefly ascribed to the selfish and hubristic attitude of the European population.... Mr. Gandhi, like millions of his politically-minded compatriots, thought that Indians were being tricked. They saw the Europeans coming back to take up their posts, and the Government apparently bent upon restoring pre-War conditions.

The Rowlatt Acts, the Amritsar holocaust, the Punjab martial law regime and the sympathy and support given by the Europeans in India and the British Parliament brought about a revulsion of feeling among political Indians. In every political activity that took place, the Europeans saw conspiracy to overthrow the Government; and, Mrs. Besant declared in her evidence before the Press Laws Committee, in the Indian Press the tendency was to tolerate political excesses and condemn police violence.

There had been intense activity in the field of journalism with new papers and journals springing up with every year, from the start of the century. Tagore's *Sadhana*, Ramananda Chatterji's *Prabasi* and *Modern Review*, Sachchidananda Sinha's *Hindustan Review* and Natesan's *Indian Review* and his four-anna potted biographies of political personalities were the more serious ventures which were launched around 1899-1900. Lucknow's *Advocate* passed into the camp of the Congress Moderates around 1905 and declined in popularity. It was succeeded by the *Indian Daily Telegraph* which maintained an anaemic existence till around 1920. In Allahabad, Sachchidananda Sinha helped Nagendra Nath Gupta to start the *Indian People* in 1903 and Chintamani was associated with them. Nagendra Nath had started his journalistic career in Karachi on a Muslim Journal, the *Pheonix* started to deal with the social evils prevalent among the Khojas by the enterprising Jaffar Fadoo. Nagendra Nath was sentenced for refusing to divulge the name of his Shikarpur correspondent. Released from jail, he went to Allahabad and after the *Indian People* was merged with the

Leader, he functioned as the editor until he went to Lahore to edit the *Tribune* in 1911. Chintamani taking over the *Leader* made it into a powerful organ of Indian Liberalism. In 1917, the *Tribune* which had suffered many vicissitudes since the *de facto* editorship of Bepin Chandra Pal had given it national status, came under the editorship of Kalinath Roy whose judgment and sober comment once again restored its national importance. In the South, Mrs. Besant took over the *Madras Standard*, changed it into *New India* and launched the *Commonweal* around 1913, making her entry into Indian politics. *New India* became a fierce critic of the Government and won considerable popularity. Two securities were demanded of *New India* in the first instance for Rs. 2,000 and then for Rs. 10,000. Mrs. Besant defended herself, proving that some of the articles that had provoked the Madras Government, had appeared first in the Bombay Press without exciting the authorities there. She was interned for her political activities. She lost the popularity she had gained when she opposed Gandhi and the Non-Cooperation movement but she was firm in her opposition to the new trends in Indian political life. Mrs. Besant's *New India* in its best days cut seriously into the circulation of Karunakara Menon's *Indian Patriot*. An attempt was made to buy out the *Patriot* by Madras Non-Brahmins who under the leadership of Theagaraya Chetty, the Raja of Panagal and T. M. Nair sought to establish their own press but Karunakara Menon refused and the *Justice* was born in 1917, under the editorship of T. M. Nair, who was replaced later by A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. *Justice* was the almost solitary instance of a successful party newspaper but its association with the ministerial party of Madras and suspicions of its receiving support from the Government restricted its appeal.

The *Independent* of Lucknow which Motilal Nehru launched in 1919 with Syed Hussain as its editor, reached the point of being considered an organ of extreme Indian opinion two years later. Motilal Nehru felt that the *Leader* of Allahabad was opposing India's development and he tried to effect a change. Outmanoeuvred by Chintamani who had collected shareholders' votes and exercised the proxy to outvote him, Motilal Nehru resigned his directorship and started the *Independent*. The *Independent* closed down in 1923, after its second editor George Joseph, gave up journalism for politics. In 1918, the Home Rule Party of Bombay started *Young India* which was to become famous as the first of Gandhi's Indian

weeklies. An earlier weekly, the *Comrade* of Calcutta (1911) rose to prominence from 1918 as its editor-founder, Mohammad Ali, became a national leader and the controversial centre of the Khilafat agitation.

The Hindi Press too saw a great revival: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's *Abhyudaya* coming out as a weekly from 1900; Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi's daily *Pratap* from 1913; Mahesh Chandra Agarwala's *Vishwamitra* from 1916; and Shiv Prasad Gupta's *Aj* from 1920. Other political journals were the old *Hindi Pradeep* (monthly), the *Hindi Kesari* (1907) and the *Karma Yogi* (1910) which were reflections of Tilak's and Aurobindo's journals, and the *Gyan Shakti* (1916). But besides these there were many journals dealing with education, religion, trade and agriculture, and children's journals. Balmukand Gupta was the leading Hindi journalist who made the *Bharat Mitra* of Calcutta the first Hindi newspaper of its day. There were others who left their mark on journalism and on the language from 1901 to 1920—the most prominent being Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, Indra Vidyavachaspati, Baburao Vishnu Paradkar, Lakshman Narayan Garde, Benarsi Das Chaturvedi and Shiva Pujan Sahai. Urdu journalism too developed between 1910 and 1920 with weeklies edited by outstanding personalities like Abul Kalam Azad who started *Al Hilal* (1912) and *Al Bilagh* (1913) from Calcutta; Mohammad Ali who ran the *Hamdard* as the Urdu counterpart of the English *Comrade* (1912) from Delhi; Hamidul Ansari who conducted the *Madina* from Bijnor; Abdul Bari Saheb who edited the *Hamdam* from Lucknow; and S. S. Nigam's *Azad* of Cawnpore and, the *Patna Akhbar* of Haji Sajid Jan. In 1919, the *Haqiqat* from Lucknow and the *Pratap* from Lahore began their career as daily newspapers. In Gujerati journalism, the first two decades of the twentieth century were a period of waiting, little aware of the drastic change which was just around the corner and which burst in with Gandhi's taking over the *Navjivan* in 1919. Ranchhodas Lotvala was the prominent figure in the Gujerati Press, having taken on the *Advocate of India*, launched the *Hindustan*, and acquired the *Prajamitra* and *Parsi* around 1913. In Maharashtra and the South, the progress was even slower but there too a Press was in process of forming which had the characteristics of independence and purpose.

Journalism was not yet a profession except in the Anglo-Indian world; advertisement did not have that importance yet which it

was to acquire later and sales and private philanthropy alone sustained Indian newspapers. There was little Indian industry, and the "national advertisers" at the time were all British commercial houses who thought little of appealing to Indian consumers. The opinion that counted with the Government, being mostly Anglo-Indian opinion, the Princes too sought their favour. Technical proficiency with the British-owned Press and popularity with the Indian newspapers were the contrasting qualities which divided the two into distinct types. The quality of writing in the Indian Press was still high, no one lightly taking up the pen unless he had mastery over the language. From this arises the special position of the leader in Indian newspapers which persists even today though to a less extent. With Tilak, the necessity of evolving Indian languages to meet the needs of the times began to be recognized, and the needs were simplicity and subtlety—simplicity to reach a wider public, subtlety to convey a meaning which, while maintaining loyalty to the British Throne and to the concept of Empire, stretched criticism to the utmost.

There were other differences between the Anglo-Indian and the Indian Press: Reflecting the views of the Government of India, the Anglo-Indian Press was very much aware of foreign politics as a factor influencing the development of the British Empire—whether it was the Afghan menace, the Turkish trend, the German threat, or the influence of new ideas from America and Bolshevik Russia. To Indian editors and publicists, Woodrow Wilson's principles of self-determination and of government with the consent of the governed were the only outside factors of significance, and many of them embarrassed the British by taking these very seriously. The other foreign factors which loomed so large in the minds of the British, seemed to Indians as so many excuses for tightening control in India. Even the Khilafat agitation, as reflected in the Indian Press, was regarded as a political campaign rendered significant by Gandhi's support which to many appeared to be indiscreet and ill-conceived.

There were two sizes for the daily newspaper—the 7-column and the 5-column. The daily newspaper in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and later Delhi, tended to follow the 7-column style set by the Anglo-Indian Press in these cities; in North India the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and in imitation other papers like the *Tribune* and the *Leader* took to the 5-column newspaper.

The Indian Press began by giving the reading public an imitation of the newspaper to which it had become accustomed through the exertions of the British owned Press in India; but there were limitations of funds and available personnel which prevented the Indian papers from attaining a high level of technical production. The English editor of an Indian newspaper worked under considerable strain but he had the advantage of professionalism which gave him the status of an expert at a time when newspapers were owned by groups rather than individuals. There were British champions of the Indian cause before and after Horniman but none as eminent for personal identification with the causes he took up and for the vigour with which he pursued them. Like Mrs. Besant, he had made India his home. Horniman came to the *Bombay Chronicle* from the *Statesman*. To his qualities as a trained journalist—he had been under C. P. Scott on the *Manchester Guardian*—he added the emotional capacity to be carried away by his feeling for national freedom. In Calcutta he had walked in Indian dress barefoot in a demonstration against partition. In Bombay, he was active in public movements and an indefatigable worker in relief activities. By his incessant attacks, he shook the *Times of India* out of its smugness and exposed its querulousness and malice to the public. He exposed the excesses of the martial law regime in the Punjab through the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle*. In 1919, he was deported from India, being removed from his sick-bed straight to the ship. It has been suggested that Horniman lost his moorings after the guiding hand of Phirozeshah Mehta was removed. It is likely that had Phirozeshah lived, he might have disapproved and washed his hands of this second journalistic venture as he had done with the *Advocate*. But that Horniman rendered valuable service to Indian journalism cannot be denied, and all of it was during the six years that he built up the *Bombay Chronicle* as a powerful organ of the Congress.

CHAPTER XIV

Storm and Strain

> The press has nothing to do with—absolutely nothing, with the present-day Gandhi non-cooperation agitation and the Gandhi-cum-Khilafat agitation. The press has had no hand in the impregnating of the masses with that venom and hatred of the British which is now to be found from Peshawar to Patna. *We* have not done that; it may be the cumulative effect of our fifty years' writings but now the non-cooperation which is being pushed on by other agencies is not our doing, and the patriarch of that non-cooperation movement himself writes in his paper that he does not care about the babus or the educated community, as he has the masses to deal with.
>
> —PANCHCOWRIE BANERJEE

GANDHI'S entry into politics, significant as it was to Indian journalism, was not at first regarded as important. It began from small beginnings in India. Returning to India after a successful demonstration of civil disobedience in South Africa and active participation in war work as a stretcher-bearer, Gandhi was impressed by the staunch support he had received from Hardinge's Government in India and by Hardinge's ready identification with the Indian cause in South Africa. Even Milner's continuation of the Boer policies had not shaken Gandhi's confidence in the British. He was anxious to take up public service and he was attracted to Gokhale's Servants of India Society. At the same time, he was drawn to politics, and Gokhale before he died advised Gandhi to study conditions in India for a year before committing himself. In the Congress, he sided with the Moderates; but on questions affecting workers and peasants he showed great interest, acting in Ahmedabad as a mediator and in Champaran and Kaira as an effective organiser of the underdog. He disobeyed a magistrate's order to leave Motihari and subsequent developments secured the redress of the ryots' grievances; in Kaira he organised a Satyagraha to which the peasants rallied and, after an attempt to suppress the agitation, the authorities yielded. He hoped during the war to win independence for India by close cooperation, and when the war ended in 1918, he

was in favour of working with the British on the constitutional reforms which were planned. Less critical than Tilak, he commended unreserved cooperation.

The Rowlatt Acts were passed against the general protests of Indians and in spite of the most solemn warnings and pleas; they roused public opinion throughout the country. Gandhi, whose success in welding all Indians together in South Africa gave him an all India perspective, took up the cause and organised nationwide Satyagraha to resist the Acts, and after a successful demonstration launched a Satyagraha sabha in Bombay. On his trying to enter the Punjab, violence broke loose and the Amritsar massacre and the subsequent martial law regime in the Punjab inflamed opinion throughout the country. The Congress from 1918 to 1920 met under the darkening shadow of Punjab politics. The influence working in the Punjab was the changed attitude of the soldiers back from the war, the activities of the revolutionary *Ghadr* Party in America consisting of Punjab exiles, and the reactionary outlook of the Punjab administrator. The worst incidents occurred between April and June 9, 1918. But the official Hunter Committee to report on the Punjab troubles was appointed only in October and its report found its members, four British and four Indians, divided racially though both sections severely criticised the conduct of the authorities and the martial law administration. The Congress set up an unofficial committee under Pandit Motilal Nehru which exposed even worse malpractices.

The Muslims whom Lord Minto's initiative had brought into politics, were uneasy about the war, particularly since Britain opposed Turkey; and her Middle-East policy roused a fear that the new alliance between British officialdom and Indian Muslim politicians might be dropped. The Aga Khan who had led a deputation of Indian Muslims—Mohammad Ali declared it was a command performance and there is enough evidence to suggest that Minto had inspired it—and won political recognition for the community, led a deputation to Turkey after the war to plead for the retention of the Khilafat. Kemal Ataturk certainly considered the move a British-inspired one. The resolutions of the Muslim League during this period were disquieting to the British Government in India; and the Afghan situation—the Third Afghan "War" of May-July 1918—added to its anxieties. After the war, though the British Indian Government altered its Afghan policy, gave up

subsidies and the attempt to control Afghan foreign policy and withdrew permission to import arms through India, the Afghan question continued to worry the British officials in India until with the deposition of Amanullah the Government of India entered into friendly relations with his successor, Nadir Shah, in 1929; and war gave way to frontier expeditions into Waziristan.

Gandhi took up the cause of the Khilafat which the Ali brothers—Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali who had been released from their war-time internment in 1919—were advocating, and helped to present it in a manner not unacceptable to the average non-Muslim. At the Amritsar Congress in 1919, Gandhi was entrusted with the leadership and charged with a mandate to launch the Non-cooperation movement. Unlike his earlier campaigns of Satyagraha both in South Africa and India which were directed towards organising opinion against specific evils, this movement was inspired with the ideal of political independence. It is significant that Gandhi himself hesitated to undertake this task and it was only the pressure of others which overcame his doubts. He declared his complete rejection of the British Government which he called "satanic;" called for a movement grounded on truth and non-violence; appealed for austerity and abstention from the use of foreign goods; and asked for a revival of the old spinning wheel (charka). If the people responded to his call fully, he promised Swaraj in one year.

Gandhi who was very conscious of the distortions possible—almost inevitable—in Indian-run newspapers abroad, set his face resolutely against propaganda and publicity abroad. His friend and associate in South Africa, H. S. L. Polak, had come into conflict with Tilak in London and had had to relinquish the editorship of the Congress organ, *India*, to Helena Normanton, after an unseemly quarrel. The other journals which appeared in France and America, were meant solely for distribution in India to spread revolutionary violence. Krishnavarma's *Indian Sociologist* and the *Ghadr* were the two important journals. In India, the Press was not as a whole favourable to the movement but three newspapers were regarded as supporting Gandhi—the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Independent* of Allahabad, and the *Servant* of Calcutta—and there were Gandhi's own two weeklies, *Young India* in English and *Navjivan* in Gujerati. The *Independent* and the *Servant* were the first newspapers started to advocate Gandhi's policy, the first because of Pandit Motilal Nehru who sought Horniman's help in launching it and appointed Horni-

man's nominee, Syed Hussain, its first editor; the second because of the enthusiasm of Shyam Sundar Chakravarty who kept it going as a mission. Chintamani's *Leader* and Surendranath Bannerji's *Bengali* were considered as confirmed opponents of Gandhi-ism and the desire to answer their propaganda brought about the first beginnings of a Congress Press. In Madras, the *Hindu* was accepted as a national institution, and in 1922 the *Swarajya* was started to advocate the Gandhian cause by T. Prakasam who rallied to his side a brilliant group of young writers—G. V. Krupanidhi, Khasa Suba Rao, K. Ramakotiswara Rao, K. Srinivasan and N. S. Varadachari. The *Swarajya* into which Prakasam threw all his resources, was free from the taint of commercialism and gave to Indian journalism several distinguished men who carried its high idealism to other newspapers. It gained considerable public support from its start. But it failed to stabilise its position and after 12 years it closed down for financial reasons. The *Swarajya* is significant because its fate and fortunes were shared by less distinguished newspapers started at the time. They swept the field free of most rivals which had no advertising to fall back on; they shook the hold of the Anglo-Indian Press which survived the storm only because it had the backing of the Government and the business houses; but they were unable to build themselves solidly on the ground they had made peculiarly their own. They stood for concentrated political journalism and they subordinated journalism to politics. They recruited staff, somewhat in the manner of the Congress collecting volunteers; and they utilised the national enthusiasm for securing low-paid staff. The *Independent* at the other extreme spent freely but it lacked staying power because it was under political pressure without forming part of the political movement. In Bombay, the *Bombay Chronicle*, after the deportation of Horniman, continued to attract the unfavourable attention of the Government until with Syed Abdulla Brelvi's occupation of the editorial chair greater moderation in comment won it a measure of peace. It might well have shared the fate of the *Independent* but for the fact that from the first an attempt was made to secure for it a devoted staff and the support of public men in Bombay, who regarded it less as a commercial proposition than as a public service. The *Daily Gazette* of Karachi was the organ of British business; it was opposed by T. L. Vaswani's *New Times* and, in 1919 when the *New Times* closed down, by the *Sind Observer* whose guiding spirit was K. Punnaiah who migrated

at Vaswani's call from his native Andhra to settle down in Karachi. Another gap in Indian journalism was filled when Sachchidananda Sinha floated the *Searchlight* in Bihar in 1918, a daily newspaper which became a staunch supporter of Gandhian politics.

With the growth of an educated Indian public and the steady increase in English newspapers owned by Indians and edited mostly by Indians, the Anglo-Indian Press began to lose ground—except in Bombay and Calcutta. The *Mail* of Madras lost to the *Hindu*; the *Pioneer*, with the advantages of better printing and easier communication going to the *Times of India* and the *Statesman*, lost its place as India's official organ and, reduced to the level of a local paper, could not fight the *Leader*; the *Daily Gazette* of Karachi suffered many vicissitudes and could not keep pace with the *Sind Observer*; the *Civil and Military Gazette* fared badly against the *Tribune*. There were besides a number of weekly journals all over the country which maintained a vigorous life, with a point of view of their own. Of these the key journals were the *Indian Social Reformer*, *New India*, the *Servant of India*, *Young India* and the monthly *Modern Review*. In a class by itself was the *Indian Review* which presented news and noteworthy comment without expressing an opinion of its own, but with political interests.

There were a number of university and college journals which dealt with literary, historical and social subjects; journals of societies like the *Asiatic Journal*, the *Indian Philosophical Review* of Baroda, the *Theosophist* of Adyar, the *Indian Journal of Sociology* from Baroda, the *Social Service Quarterly* of Bombay; the *Calcutta Review*, a monthly which contains invaluable socio-historical studies reaching down from 1844, has a special importance; and there were other publications from specialised societies like the *Journal of Natural History* issued by the Bombay Society. The two notable religious bodies which conducted newspapers were the Christian missions—specially the Roman Catholic and Baptist missions—and the Brahmo Samajes all over India. *Capital* and *Commerce* which also was first sponsored by British business interests in Bengal till Bombay took it over, were commercial weeklies; and Bombay contributed the first industrial journal with the *Indian Textile Journal* founded by S. Rutnagar in 1910. Medical journalism had become well-established in Bengal, and Bombay and Madras had their magazines as well. Finally, a number of government publications and government-supported journals dealt

with farming and agriculture, mining and geology, statistics, commerce and industry, and forestry. There were a few private ventures in these fields which reached a limited public. The main popular organ of non-political journalism, however, was the *Illustrated Weekly of India* which was launched in 1901; it has had several imitators but no rivals. If politics was the main preoccupation, the political movement had little influence on the fortunes of the non-political Press which grew up after 1920 as interest spread to other fields of science, technology and commerce.

Gandhi's attitude towards the Press was far from encouraging. He expressed the view that a newspaper justified its existence only by the public support it received, disapproved of advertisements which he banned from his journals, and generally proclaimed that the Press needed to prove itself. In the prevailing illiteracy, as leader of a mass movement, Gandhi looked more to the spoken than to the written word. At the same time, even in South Africa he had used a newspaper, *Indian Opinion*, to propagate his views, and back in India he had marked his entry into active politics by acquiring an English and a Gujerati weekly. As a result of his wide interest, his genius for simplification, his eagerness to reach the largest number of people, and the startling nature of his activities, there was a quickening of life in journalism. Many of his followers were moved to write and publish in the Indian languages, and in imitation of his own direct style they wrote a simple prose. Regional journalism began to acquire an importance and there was hardly an area of the country which did not have its newspapers. These did not displace the English Press which provided the all-India media.

There were in 1920 a few Indian language journals which functioned as associates of Indian-owned English newspapers, specially in Bengal. The most distinguished of these was the daily *Nayak*, edited by the versatile Panchcowrie Bannerjee who even drew cartoons, the Bengali counterpart of the *Bengalee*. The *Basumati* appearing as a daily, weekly and monthly under the editorship of the talented Hamendra Kumar Ghosh from 1914, was an independent venture. With Manoranjan Guha-Thakurta's *Nabashakti* a victim to government displeasure, the *Sanjivini* and the *Hitabadi* were the two leading weeklies, both supporting the Congress. In Gujerat, Lotwala's *Hindustan* and *Prajamitra* and *Parsi* which he later combined into one newspaper, supported Gandhi; the *Gujerati* of Bombay and the *Gujerati Punch* of Ahmedabad represented Hindu

orthodoxy; the Parsi newspapers of Bombay were not supporters of the Gandhian movement. Neither Ahmedabad nor Surat had a daily Gujerati newspaper in 1920.

Marathi journalism had three dailies in Bombay city—the *Indu Prakash*, the *Sandesh* and the *Lokamanya*; and the *Dnyan Prakash* of the Servants of India Society and the *Lokasangraha* edited by Pant Haradkar in Poona. The *Sandesh* was edited by A. B. Kolhatkar who had earned fame as the editor of the *Desh Sevak* of Nagpur; a staunch Tilakite who had varied interests, Kolhatkar introduced many popular features, specialised in war news and reviews, and reported cricket matches for his paper. Associated with him was Anant Hari Gadre who distinguished himself as a political reporter and commentator. The *Sandesh* was frequently in trouble with the authorities, and it had many lives, not always under the same name. In 1920, the *Sandesh* printed from Nagpur during the Congress Session. The *Lokamanya* under the control of Tilak's able supporter, K. P. Khadilkar, followed a similar policy. Khadilkar's vigorous writing won the newspaper considerable popularity but owing to disagreement with the proprietors, the Lokamanya Publishing Company, he severed his connection and the editorial management was looked after by B. G. Kher, L. P. Bhopatkar and R. N. Mandlik. Nagpur was a centre of Marathi journalism inspired by Tilak's leadership. With the *Desh Sevak* was G. A. Ogale who started the weekly *Maharashtra* in 1914. Madhavrao Madhye's weekly *Hitavada* was taken over by the Servants of India Society after three years (1913) and later converted into an English language paper.

Hindi journalism had two powerful organs in Calcutta—the *Bharat Mitra* which under its early editors, the renowned Balmukand Gupta and the forceful Ambika Prasad Bajpai had become the leading Hindi newspaper of the times, and the *Viswamitra* which had grown out of the defunct *Calcutta Samachar*, and from 1918 offered serious competition to the *Bharat Mitra*. Baburao Vishnu Paradkar and Lakshman Narayan Gadre were associated with Ambika Prasad Bajpai on the *Bharat Mitra* and the three went over to the *Aj* of Benares founded in 1920 when Paradkar became its editor in 1923. Bombay had a daily Hindi newspaper, the *Sri Venkateswar Samachar*. There were a number of weeklies, of which the most distinguished was Madan Mohan Malaviya's *Abhyudaya*; Ambika Prasad Gupta's *Indu*, the *Hindi Bihari*, and the *Jayaji Pratap* for brief periods around 1914 also appeared as dailies but

like the *Abhyudaya* they too reverted to weeklies by 1920. The Hindi Press as a rule aimed at providing for the public educative journals at low prices. The *Aj* floated in 1920 by the Benares millionaire, Shiva Prasad Gupta, for example, sold at half an anna, espoused the cause of independence for India with the cultivation of international good relations, and sought to establish itself as a national institution comparable in influence with the London *Times*. While this objective was steadily pursued, the *Aj* set the standard for Hindi journalism; and consciousness of the importance of Hindi gave a fresh impetus to Hindi journalists. In contrast, Urdu newspapers which at the beginning of the century were more numerous than their Hindi counterparts, had begun to drop behind. Mohammad Ali's weekly, the *Hamdard*, had the leadership because of interest in the Khilafat, but Abul Kalam Azad's *Al Hilal* was acknowledged for the width of its interests and the range of its writings. The dailies were the *Haqiqat* of Lucknow and the *Pratap* of Lahore, the organ of the Arya Samaj (Gurukul section), both launched after the relaxing of wartime restraints in 1919. Punjabi political journalism can be traced to the Akali movement which followed on the Punjab disturbances of 1920.

In South India, Kerala occupied a prominent place in political journalism which it entered in 1884. The oldest daily was the *Malayala Manorama* of Kottayam founded by Kandathi Vergese Mappilai and edited around 1920 by K. C. Mammen Mappillai. The newspaper had a unique position in Kerala life, several distinguished writers in Malayalam winning literary reputations through their contributions—like Kerala Varma, Valia Koyil Thampuram, Kunhikittan Thampuram, Vallathol Menon, Ulloor Achutha Menon and Murkuth Kumaran. A journalist who launched political journals in more than one centre was K. Ramakrishna Pillai, founder of the *Kerala*, the *Malayalee* and the *Swadeshabhimani*. Malayali journalism has always had men who expressed themselves fearlessly on political questions and literary stylists who maintained a high level of writing, beginning with Kunhirama Menon in 1884. The attraction of politics has been strong but there have been also literary journals—the *Kayana Kaumudi* with its news, comment and letters all in verse; the *Manorama* and the *Kerala Sancheri*; the *Nasrani Deepika* and the *Kerala Kesari*. Its editors and writers have occupied a position which might well be envied in other parts of India; and the names of Kunhiraman Nayanar, Appu Nedungadi,

Chandu Menon, Madava Varrier, Pallath Kunjunni Achan, V. S. Nambudripad, Ayyapan, T. K. Madhavan, Krishnan, K. J. Menon, Vasudeva Musad are still cherished in Kerala.

Tamil journalism was represented by the *Swadesimitram* (1882-1899 when it became a daily) which held the field against poor competition. But in 1920, it was challenged by the meteoric *Desabhaktan* (1917) which had come under the control of the revolutionist V. V. S. Iyer. In contrast to the vigorous English journalism of Mrs. Besant and the non-Brahmins, Tamil journalism developed slowly mainly because the *Swadesimitram* held a balance and pursued a policy of impressive sobriety. Telugu journalism had an early flowering but its interests were religious, social and literary. Nageswara Rao's *Andhra Patrika* (1910-1914 when it was removed to Madras from Bombay) was the sole daily; but a number of weekly and fortnightly periodicals from Madras and Rajahmundry provided varied fare to its readers. There were other journals before the *Andhra Patrika*. Apart from the two missionary journals, Veerasalingam Pantulu the great reformer was the father of Telugu journalism with his weekly *Vivekavardhani*. The *Andhrabhasha Sanjivini* of Venkatratnam Pantulu was a friendly rival, and the *Andhra Prakasika* was launched in 1886 as the first news weekly, which supported the Congress. These were published from Madras but Rajahmundry, Nellore, Guntur and Elluru had their own papers, even daily newspapers. The *Deshabhimani* developed by stages from the modest fortnightly started by Devagupta Seshachalrao; and the short-lived *Samadarsini* took up the non-Brahmin cause. Literary subjects provoked a lively interest and the argument proceeded between the champions of literary Telugu and simple Telugu. The *Amudnithagrantha Chintamani*, a scholarly review edited by P. Ramakrishnayya, Chalapathi Rao's *Manjuvani*, Krishnarao's *Saraswati*, Sankhyana Sharma's *Kalpalata*, Lakshminarasimham's *Manorama*, Venkataramrao's *Kalpavali*, Suryanarayanaraju's *Sarada*, Anandacharyulu's *Vijayanthi* and Krishnamurti Shastri's *Vajrayudham* were literary and social journals which influenced the growth of the language. But it was the *Janatha* edited by Visvanadha Satyanarayana and Ramokoteswara Rao which developed modern Telugu.

Gandhi, if he could have surveyed the field of journalism in 1920,

would have found what has been sketched above. He would have seen the Anglo-Indian Press influential with the Government, with its Indian competitors lagging far behind in quality, content and power. The better established Indian newspapers again, though far behind the Anglo-Indian ones, would still value their existence enough not to heed his advice to suspend publication rather than pay up the security demanded. Moreover, they represented at best a small section of the Indian people—the educated and literate classes; financed by the meagre earnings of the middle classes, they occupied a position which was anomalous, in as much as the Government itself refused to consider them truly representative of the nation. Gandhi's stand on the Press is well brought out in the following passage from his article in *Young India* in October 1919:

> I frankly confess that to me, editing a newspaper in English is no pleasure. I feel that, in occupying myself with that work, I am not making the best use of my time. And, but for the Madras Presidency, I should now leave the work of editing *Young India*. It is true that I should at times like to make my views in matters of general interest known to the Government. But I do not need to control a newspaper merely for that purpose . . . . While *Young India* has a little more than 1,200 subscribers, *Nava Jivan* has 12,000. The number would leap to 20,000 if we could get printers to print that number. It shows that a vernacular newspaper is a felt need . . . . The English journals touch but the fringe of India's population. Whilst, therefore, I hold it to be the duty of every English-knowing Indian to translate the best of the English thought in the vernaculars for the benefit of the masses, I recognise that for a few years to come, that is, until we have accepted Hindustani as the common medium among the cultured classes and until Hindustani becomes compulsory in our schools as a second language, educated India, especially in the Madras Presidency, must be addressed in English. But I will not be party to editing a newspaper that does not pay its way. *Young India* cannot pay its way unless it has at least 2,500 subscribers. I must appeal to my Tamil friends to see to it that the requisite number of subscribers is found, if they wish to see *Young India* continued.

Gandhi cut out all advertisements from both his newspapers.

Referring in the same article to the "curse of advertisement," he remarked:

> What a financial gain it would be to the country, if there were for each province only one advertising medium—not a newspaper—containing innocent, unvarnished notices of things useful for the public! But for our criminal indifference, we would decline to pay the huge indirect taxation by way of mischievous advertisements. Some readers who are interested in the purity of journalism, recently sent me a most indecent advertisement extracted from a well-known newspaper . . . . Anyone turning to the advertisement sheets of even leading journals can verify the aptness of my criticism.

A prescription he gave to all Editors (December 1920) but without evoking much response is revealing:

> We must devise methods of circulating our ideas unless and until the whole Press becomes fearless, defies consequences and publishes ideas, even when it is in disagreement with them, just for the purpose of securing that freedom. An editor with an original idea or an effective prescription for India's ills can easily write them out, a hundred hands can copy them, many more can read them out to thousands of listeners. I do hope, therefore, that Non-cooperation editors, at any rate, will not refrain from expressing their thoughts for fear of the Press Act. They should regard it as sinful to keep their thoughts secret—a waste of energy to conduct a newspaper that cramps their thoughts. It is negation of one's calling for an editor to have to suppress his best thoughts.

Gandhi wrote again in January 1922 when he referred to the policy of the Government in restricting individual liberty:

> Liberty of speech . . . liberty of the press . . . freedom of association . . . the Government of India is now seeking to crush the three powerful vehicles of expressing and cultivating public opinion . . . . The fight for Swaraj, the Khilafat, the Punjab means a fight for this threefold freedom before all else. . . . I believe that an Editor who has anything worth saying and who

> commands a clientele cannot be easily hushed so long as his body is left free. He has delivered his unfinished message as soon as he is put under duress . . . . Let us break the idol of machinery and leaden type. The pen is our foundry and the hands of willing copyists our printing machine . . . . Let us use the machine and the type, whilst we can, to give unfettered expression to our thoughts. But let us not feel helpless when they are taken away from us by a "paternal" Government, watching and controlling every combination of types and every movement of the printing machine. But the handwritten newspaper is, I admit, a heroic remedy meant for heroic times. By being indifferent to the aid of the printing room and the compositor's stick we ensure their free retention and restoration for all time. We must apply Civil Disobedience for the restoration of that right before we think of what we call larger things. The restoration of free speech, free association and free press is almost the whole Swaraj.

The three quotations mark different stages in Gandhi's politics. But right through he was averse to a newspaper furnishing security and to acceptance of any form of censorship. He indicated that the Press Act "was a symptom of the disease of cowardice," suggesting in one case that editors "omitted the most telling passages of my speech, evidently for fear of the censor." But Gandhi who felt that advertisements were a curse, also had little use for news relating to matters unconnected with the movement. In his first journalistic venture, the unregistered *Satyagraha* which he issued from Bombay, he favoured the handwritten newspaper because the printed newspaper required registration and carried "much padding." As a consequence, several registered Indian language papers came up which were concentrated politics. Gandhi laid great emphasis on the Satyagrahi writing in his name and address so that the Government could prosecute him when it felt like it.

Events in India developed with increased momentum. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published in July 1918 but, before the Reforms Act was passed, the Rowlatt Acts intervened (February 1919). King George V in signifying his assent to the Bill, issued a Royal Proclamation wherein he announced his intention to send his son, the Prince of Wales, to inaugurate the new Constitution and the Chamber of Princes, both of which were actually done by the Duke of Connaught in February 1921. A qualified amnesty

to political prisoners was declared, leaving it to the Viceroy's judgment to keep under continued detention those who threatened to endanger public safety. Chelmsford allowed his better instincts to be overruled by provincial administrators, and the Punjab was the worst sufferer. In the evidence, before the Sapru Committee, of Prithwis Chandra Ray, editor of the *Bengalee*, it emerged that some 1,779 political prisoners were released, inclusive of those who had served out their sentence, after the Royal amnesty, and some 80 persons, including Bhai Parmanand and the Savarkar brothers, were still detained. Ray had written that the "royal amnesty had left them untouched." Gandhi addressed himself repeatedly in *Young India* to pointing out this weakness in the administration and to calling for Chelmsford's recall. But Chelmsford lasted his full five years. Ray had received a letter from Bhupendra Nath Basu to the effect that he had learnt from the Prime Minister that "you are going to get a good man—an extraordinarily clever man—as Viceroy." This he promptly communicated to his readers by printing extracts from the letter. Lord Reading who succeeded Chelmsford, proved equally unimaginative; in fact he took a legalistic stand on all questions.

It is interesting to trace the distinction which Gandhi in the earliest phase of his movement drew between non-cooperation and the boycott of British goods. "It is clear to me that Non-cooperation is as different from Boycott as an elephant from an ass," he wrote in March 1920. In his espousal of the Khilafat cause, he was strongly opposed to joining the Punjab grievances and the cause of cow-protection to the question of a fair settlement of the Turkish terms. He opposed the taking up of both issues at the Khilafat Conference in November 1919 and it was Muslim insistence that combined the three. The Muslims pressed for boycott of British goods. Gandhi condemned the demand as tainted with violence. Gandhi considered the Punjab grievances a local affair; the cow-protection issue a matter between Hindus and Muslims which the Muslims could voluntarily concede but the Hindus could not tie up with their support of the Khilafat. He was in the Khilafat movement because of "British pledges, abstract justice and religious sentiment."

The complexities of the Turkish situation were heightened by the disclosures of the secret treaties of the Allies which showed the real objectives of the Allies, and inter-Allies differences of opinion which

had created more difficulties than anything in Turkey itself. In 1919, apart from Lloyd George's repeated declaration of intention and his defence of his policy because Britain was "the greatest Mahomedan power in the world" and on the practical ground that it had greatly helped recruitment in India, the British were confronted by the anomalous position of having three government departments involved in the Turkish confusion: The Foreign Office backed King Hussein, Sherif of Mecca; the India Office favoured the Wahabi leader, Ibn Saud; and the British Treasury stopped further involvement by cutting off funds to both backers. The Greek offer to act in Smyrna was accepted as a short way of cutting commitments; and the result was a conflagration in Turkey itself which led to further international chaos, until in 1923 Kemal Ataturk declared Turkey to be a secular Republic.

Though the British supported the Government of Sultan Mehemet VI against Kemal's nationalists, the control exerted over the Sultan was so ruthlessly exercised that Kemal was able to drive a wedge in between Britain and the Allies, abolish the Sultanate while retaining the Caliphate as the spiritual headship over the Muslims, vest the office, on the Sultan's flight, in a cousin of Mehemet Ali VI, and finally to abolish the Khilafat itself on the ground that its existence gave rise to British interference in Turkey's domestic affairs. Kemal's Nationalists won a majority in January 1920; the Treaty of Sevres was signed with the Sultan in March 1920; the Sultanate was abolished on November 1, 1922; and the Caliphate was done away with exactly a year later. As a result of the Indian espousal of the Khilafat cause, little change occurred in Turkey itself but there was a dual catastrophe in Britain and India: The resignation of Montagu preceded the collapse of the Lloyd George Government, though not before Montagu was thoroughly disillusioned by events in India and had incurred Congress displeasure by threatening to put down the Khilafat movement. It is interesting to note that Stanley Reed in his reminiscences attributes the fall of Montagu to the rise of Reading—two Jews in charge of India being unacceptable to British opinion to which at that time the British Government was acutely susceptible. In India, the agitation led Gandhi to virtual acceptance of the weapon of boycott which he had previously rejected, and to deterioration of Hindu-Muslim relations to the point of communal riots.

The visit of the Duke of Connaught was followed late in the year

by the visit of the Prince of Wales. Both occasions were used by Gandhi to organise Indian opinion against the British system—the campaign including public meetings, articles in his newspapers advocating abstention from all receptions and open letters to the royal visitors, and at a later stage bonfires of foreign cloth. Gandhi's journalism during this period covered a wide and varied range—replying to public and private criticism, explaining with nice distinction the limits of approved agitation, correcting the extravagances of more impetuous followers, defending or rebuking the excesses of Congress supporters, sympathisers and volunteers, and expounding his general attitude to life. If his promised Swaraj in one year kept receding, it has to be conceded that his ideas spread throughout the country—distorted though they were in the simplified form in which action on them expressed itself. Gandhi, for instance, when he spoke of the Punjab unrest, was less concerned with the conduct of the military authorities and of General Dyer than with the behaviour of the civil authorities; he reiterated in his writings the minor importance of pressing for condemnation of Dyer as compared to the urgency of securing the removal from service of civil servants who misused their powers. Few of those who commented on the question, shared his view.

On Turkey, the circumstances of the case ensured that only the party in power in Turkey could decide the question of the Caliphate. Had Britain's gamble with Mahemet Ali VI succeeded, the Khilafat agitation in India might well have proved an embarrassment to Britain. But by one of those international miscalculations which occur in world politics, Indians no less than Britons underestimated the influence and authority of Kemal Ataturk, and as usual the British corrected their error before Indians realised what had taken place. For the Caliph, given the state of Islam at the time, could not hope to have temporal power, and a Caliph with spiritual headship over Islam but without temporal power was a meaningless anomaly. Indian leaders along with Muslim leaders in India feared that the intrigues of the peacemakers would drive Turkey out of Europe and reduce her to a subordinate position in the British Empire, but it was Gandhi alone among the non-Muslims who was ready to risk the double-edged weapon of supporting the move for restoring the Caliphate.

It was a bold move on the part of the British Government to conceive of the royal visits as a means of rallying loyal Indians and

overcoming discontent. But an imaginative act was destroyed by the failure to gauge the strength of Indian feeling. Reading who was conciliatory as long as the programme of the Prince of Wales in India required it, took up a firm line the moment the visit was over. Moreover, the non-cooperating demonstrations got out of hand when the Prince arrived in Bombay; the nemesis of the Khilafat agitation was wrought with communal rioting in Malabar; and violence broke out in North India. As the Congress advanced under Gandhi's leadership step by step to non-cooperation and as Gandhi deferred launching the movement with every evidence of unpreparedness, the unrest in the country grew. From the Press in Maharashtra arose protests against Gandhi's "failure to utilise the mass awakening"; the *Hindu* of Madras wrote in defence of boycott of British goods and was rebuked by Gandhi for not recognising the inherent violence of the step; from Calcutta, the *Bengalee* and the *Nayak* opposed the Gandhian programme; Mrs. Besant proved a formidable opponent with disciples all over the country; the *Indian Social Reformer* pursued an independent line, objecting to the boycott of schools and educational institutions and the picketing of liquor shops. In her written statement to the Press Laws Committee, Mrs. Besant with characteristic forthrightness drew attention to the anomalous administration of the laws:

> Mr. Gandhi in *Young India* is allowed every week to excite hatred and contempt against the Government in language compared with which criticisms of Government that have ruined many papers are harmless; he is even allowed to approach perilously near high treason by saying that he would in a sense assist an Afghan invasion of India; papers that one has never heard of wielding little influence have their securities forfeited or heavily enhanced. An administration which with flagrant injustice allows the main offender and inspirer of hatred, who proclaims "war against Government," speaks of "paralysing" it or "pulling it down," to go scot free, while crushing small offenders encouraged by his example, undermines in the community all respect for law and the authority of the Government . . . . I rejoice that the Government is strong enough to treat Mr. Gandhi's vapourings with contempt instead of bestowing on him the martyrdom he courts. But I urge that a law not enforced against the influential should not be allowed to crush the weak.

Between March and July 1921, the Indian Press was in a state of transition. Mrs. Besant in her evidence remarked that the pro-non-cooperation Press was a small but influential one; Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru thought it was the bulk of the Indian Press; Bengal editors spoke of the loss in circulation of the non-Gandhian papers. With the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, a change had taken place: misrepresentations of the Government were more strongly resented by the Indian Ministers in the provinces who could not afford to be misunderstood in India; the fact that they were working the Reforms which the majority party—the Congress—wanted to wreck, gave them an initial handicap, and the compromises necessary in functioning in a team were additional difficulties they could not easily explain to those who deliberately refused the responsibilities of office. In the Central Government, a Department of Publicity had been set up under Dr. Rushbrook Williams on the suggestion of Stanley Reed who had organised the Government's wartime publicity under very difficult conditions. Dr. Rushbrook Williams explained to the Press Laws Committee that his work and that of similar departments in the provinces was to keep in touch with editors, and to remove misconceptions. He said:

> The Department (of Central Bureau of Information) which for the sake of convenience is a subsection of the Home Department, is really a link between the Government and the Press. The most important part of my duties is to examine the current Press with the object of finding out topics in which the public is interested and on which it requires information, and of finding out matters in connection with which the action of Government is criticized .... Our duty is then to extract the more important of these statements and to bring them to the notice of the departments concerned with the request that more information about a given subject should be published because the public is interested; or that particulars should be published about this given matter because the public is in doubt; or that explanations should be published about this matter because the public is dissatisfied.

He added that he also on occasion at the request of some department tried to impress on some editor the need for moderation in comment or caution in publishing reports.

In Madras, where Lord Willingdon succeeded in building his

executive into a team with the distinction between officials and ministers very thin, the Justice Party took office and the *Justice* was regarded as the official organ. Chintamani held that the Madras Government was partial to the Party and helped its growth; but the help evidently was not able to establish the newspaper as either an effective organ of public opinion or a technically good newspaper. Similarly in Bengal, Surendranath Banerjee's *Bengalee* and *Nayak* failed to profit by ministerial support—because for one thing Surendranath's following dwindled under heavy pressure from C. R. Das, and for another there appear to have been editorial differences between him and his two associates Panchcowrie Banerji and Prithwis Chundra Ray. It was only in Allahabad where the redoubtable Chintamani managed to run his department as a minister and keep a supervisory eye over the *Leader* that some stability and success attended the pro-government newspaper. The *Pioneer* with the development of government publicity lost ground and the *Independent* started by Pandit Motilal Nehru to propagate Gandhian ideas began splendidly in 1919 but closed down in 1923. Gandhi's *Young India* which at the outset failed to achieve the needed 2,500, reached a circulation of 45,000. Gandhi allowed free reproduction of his articles in other newspapers, a facility which was readily availed of.

An important item on the non-cooperation programme was the boycott of schools and educational institutions. This naturally brought to the forefront the educationists of the Arya Samaj who had had experience of national education. Gandhi himself was keenly interested in organising institutions to replace those that were to be shunned. He inaugurated a National College at Calcutta which owed its existence to the energetic activity of C. R. Das whose appeal had brought students in their thousands out of the schools and colleges; he formally opened a National College at Patna and inaugurated the Bihar Vidyapith; he inspired the Benares Vidyapith, the Bengal National University, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, the National Muslim University and the Gujerat Vidyapith. A large number of national schools also sprung up. For a time, the Government and government-aided institutions were seriously affected; but soon the failure of the experiment found students once again thronging their portals, and Gandhi admitted defeat on this point. But the result was widespread dissatisfaction with the existing system and the growth of student indiscipline—

both of which persist to this day. It has its bearing on the journalism that grew up in the following decades: It became a mark of patriotism, in the words of Pothan Joseph, to write bad English.

Gandhi's influence over the Press was a powerful one. He encouraged editors to express their views freely, and he frequently entered into argument with them either personally or in the columns of his weeklies. His frequent distress at confusion between the movement and the "excrescences of the movement" led him into lengthy communication with critics, most of which found its way into the columns of *Young India.* The variety of subjects he touched on quickened public discussion, and as he always struck an unusual note the arguments had a perennial interest. Though it appeared to many, not excluding Gandhi himself, that the first crop of non-cooperation was intolerance, indiscipline, and the excitement of passions, and that mob violence would establish itself in place of political assassination, there were widening ripples of interest as Gandhi debated Hindu-Muslim unity, English education, the caste system, modern industry, the spinning wheel, temperance, truth, non-violence, the law courts and so on. But through it all ran one central theme, "The cooperators uphold injustice and add insult to it." From this it was a short step to considering "cooperators" as sinning against the light, and it was not surprising that, despite Gandhi's frequent testimonies to political opponents, demonstrations against them occurred. What received little attention was the fact that, when Gandhi's promise of Swaraj in one year failed, the resulting frustration was less than the frustration which overtook the "cooperators" as the Government resorted to strong action to put down agitation.

CHAPTER XV

The Gandhian Age

> This fight is not a joke. We have disciplined ourselves for the past twelve months and more, and we must go through it to the end. There is no turning back now.
>
> —M. K. GANDHI (1921)

GANDHI'S non-cooperation which found acceptance with the Congress first in the fifteen months between September 1920 and December 1921, was a startling diversion from constitutional politics. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms got off to a bad start. In keeping with Indian opinion and the recommendation of the Press Laws Committee, the Legislature did nothing to secure the Princes from criticism in the Indian Press. But the Chamber of Princes demanded some protection and the Princes Protection Bill was passed despite general opposition by the exercise of the Viceroy's powers of certification. The Duke of Connaught who had come out in place of the Prince of Wales, to inaugurate the reforms and launch the Chamber of Princes, spoke well and pleaded for better relations between the two countries. But the visit was untimely, as the postponement of the Prince of Wales' visit itself indicated, and the Congress under Gandhi's guiding hand was preparing itself for a large mass civil disobedience movement.

The sanction of the movement came gradually; it had many critics in Bengal and Maharashtra where voluntary snapping of links with the Government roused grave doubts, and Gandhi himself proved a hard taskmaster in insisting on his terms. It began for the limited objective of securing redress of the Punjab wrongs and reversal of British policy towards Turkey, and only the pressure of the veteran Congressman C. Vijayaraghavachariar induced Gandhi to extend its goal to the attainment of Swaraj. It diverted attention from the constitutional developments under the Reforms Act. In the light of well-known lawyers and publicists voluntarily courting imprisonment, the resignation of Sankaran Nair from the Viceroy's Executive Council and other protests from "cooperators" evoked little interest.

Lord Reading had continued Chelmsford's policy of leaving

Satyagrahis alone—at the outset. But failure to arrive at a settlement with Gandhi, disappointment at his inability to ensure a successful visit from the Prince of Wales at the end of 1921, and genuine anxiety at the acts of mob-violence which marred many demonstrations impelled him to enforce the law. Without mass civil disobedience being actually launched, there were 20,000 prisoners in detention around 1921-22. Gandhi had secured acceptance of his programme of non-cooperation at Ahmedabad. He was made the chief executive for the campaign which had all its details chalked out, including provision for a succession of leaders in the event of arrests and safeguarding of the movement from any weakening. There were doubts in the Press; even leading Congressmen like Das and Motilal Nehru declared their aversion to the triple boycott of councils, courts and schools. Gandhi himself was disturbed by attempts to equate Swaraj with independence from the Empire. But he secured his way by insisting on the whole programme and he had no doubt that, even if Congressmen took to his programme through expediency, the movement could be kept within non-violent bounds.

Lord Reading's policy of large-scale arrests, of suppression of Congress newspapers and of pressing for an abandonment of civil disobedience by pressure at first created sympathy for Gandhi. But the manifestations of mob-violence and coercion of dissentients brought on a change of feeling. When newspapers not unfriendly to Gandhi pressed for peace, they were met with the argument that the violence was provoked by repression and at any rate not indulged in by the Satyagrahis. The failure of negotiations between Lord Reading and Gandhi led to a last minute effort by Pandit Malaviya, Dr. M. R. Jayakar and K. Natarajan to stave off the campaign of mass disobedience which Gandhi had given notice of from Bardoli. Gandhi was thinking along the same lines, and, regardless of the fetters placed on him by the Congress resolution, he called off the movement. The decisive event was the tragedy of Chauri Chaura where 22 policemen had been murdered by an angry mob.

Gandhi's decision met with considerable criticism from Maharashtra and Bengal. He was charged with deserting the prisoners and sabotaging the movement. But he secured a favourable verdict from the Congress, which affirmed its faith in civil disobedience. The insistence on civil disobedience irked the Government and in March 1922 Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years' im-

prisonment for sedition. This was followed by wholesale arrests in Andhra where a no-tax campaign had been called off at the instance of Gandhi. The removal of Gandhi, just after his winning over the Congress to reluctant approval of abandonment of mass civil disobedience, paralysed the organisation which could only follow the beaten track. There was considerable rethinking on Congress policy, and leaders like C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru began to press for the lifting of the Councils boycott as soon as they came out of jail. Das, a dynamic character who overcame Gandhi's opposition as well as pressure from the right to adopt office acceptance, campaigned for a Council-entry programme to wreck the Reforms. He planned to capture the Bengal Legislative Assembly and, though he had the *Bengalee* to back him, he launched the *Forward* in 1923 as the voice of the Swaraj Party. It enjoyed a tremendous popularity because of his vigorous advocacy and because of Bengali dissatisfaction with the policy of the no-changers. A year earlier the *Ananda Bazaar Patrika* was started by Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, Prafulla Kumar Sarkar and Suresh Chandra Mazumdar as a Bengali daily. Among Urdu newspapers, the most prominent ones launched in 1923 were the *Tej* of Delhi by Swami Shradhanand and the *Milap* of Lahore by Mahashe Khushal Chand.

An offshoot of the Akali Sikh movement which arose in 1920 was the *Hindustan Times* established in Delhi in 1923. The reforming Sikhs had for long been discontented with the management of shrines which were controlled by Mahants or resident priests. The ideas of Gandhi had caught the imagination of the Akalis and they started a campaign of leading bands of volunteers, or jathas, to occupy the shrines. At Nankana Sahib, trouble arose when the Mahant with the aid of Pathans massacred a Sikh jatha. This provoked Sikh sentiment against the Mahants as a class. The Punjab Government followed a "neutral" policy of supporting reform but resisting the mass movement. The Sikh movement consequently became a revolutionary movement, with over 100 journals in the Punjab propagating reformist views. The twin points of their agitation was the wearing of the *kirpan* and possession of the sacred shrines. The deposition of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha in 1923 created a furore in the community and the Maharaja was eager to secure Congress support. There were 15 dailies, 8 journals which printed every fifth day, 67 weeklies, 4 fortnightlies and 25 monthlies in Punjabi, all advocating the cause of

Sikh reform. But the most significant development was the starting of the *Hindustan Times* in Delhi under the editorship of K. M. Panikkar with the funds of the Akalis. The *Hindustan Times* soon passed to a group of leaders when the Akalis sold out to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and the first directors were Malaviya himself, Lala Lajpatrai, Raja Narendranath and Dr. M. R. Jayakar. It had been preceded by the *Delhi Mail*, Delhi's first English daily which began a shaky existence in the war years and closed down in 1922. The *Hindustan Times* was taken over by G. D. Birla who became a director in 1927, and was the first of the national dailies to be placed on a sound financial base and the most successful of them. (The *Hindu* of Madras and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of Calcutta are in a different category as they are family properties, owing their stability to the devotion of one family.)

To Ahmedabad, as might be expected, the activities of Gandhi had special meaning, and around 1920 Nandlal Bodiwala launched out with the *Swarajya* but changed over two years later to the *Sandesh* which at the start was a single sheet evening newspaper selling at one pice. Bodiwala developed his paper, bought modern machinery and expanded his activities to take in other journals like the *Gujarati Punch*, the *Sevak* and the weekly *Aram*. From Surat came in 1921 the *Gujarati* with a wide local circulation and the *Samachar* launched in 1922. Marathi journalism also saw intense activity. K. P. Khadilkar, after he severed his connection with the *Lokamanya*, started the *Navakal* (1923), supporting the Congress; the *Lokamanya* was with the Swaraj Party; and later under the auspices of N. C. Kelkar and the responsive cooperators, the *Prabhat* was launched as a pice newspaper. In the Karnatak, the advent of Gandhi was a filip to Kannada journalism. H. R. Moharay began his journalistic career as proprietor and editor of the *Karnatak Vaibhav*, and R. R. Divakar and R. S. Hukkerikar launched the *Karmaveer* in 1921. In 1924, the *Samyukta Karnatak* was established by prominent publicists at Belgaum. In Kerala, the influential *Mathrubhumi* appeared as a tri-weekly in 1923 founded to support non-cooperation by Madhavan Nair and Achutan, two lawyers who gave up their Calcutta practice in response to Gandhi's call. A. K. Pillai returned from England to launch the weekly *Swaraj* from Quilon; *Al Amin* issued from Calicut; and the *Malayala Rajyam* from Quilon attained permanency.

In the official publication, *India in 1922-23*, the justification

for Gandhi's arrest is given as his loss of influence:

> Mr. Gandhi's influence over the non-cooperation movement was no longer what it had been. Plainly mass civil disobedience was only postponed; it had not been repudiated. No one could say when Mr. Gandhi's hand might be forced by the more impetuous section of his followers. In these circumstances, the Administration decided to order his arrest . . . . There had been a natural reluctance to incarcerate a man who was widely respected; who had consistently preached the gospel of non-violence, and done all he could to restrain the more impatient of his followers from embarking upon forcible methods. What precipitated the arrest was the realization that he might be driven shortly to undertake a campaign of mass civil disobedience that would cost the country dear; what gave it its psychological value was the fact that a substantial body of Indian opinion was now prepared to support measures against him. His political reputation was at its nadir; the enthusiasm of his followers had reached its lowest ebb.

C. R. Das and his group in Bengal and the Maharashtra party were never enthusiasts for the Council boycott programme. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel and S. Srinivasa Iyengar stood with Das. In the long struggle for control of the Congress which followed Gandhi's detention, the Das group gained ground steadily. The slogan of wrecking the Councils from within was opposed by Natarajan who contended that a negative cover to a positive policy would hinder progress. In actual fact, the Swarajists were returned in sufficient numbers to affect the legislatures only in the Central Provinces and Bengal. Political discussion centred on the question of office acceptance which Das firmly opposed. Das was a realist and he secured strong press support. The conservative forces in the Congress were neutralised by winning over Gandhi and obtaining by successive stages first tolerance and then complete acceptance of the Swarajists. A move towards cooperation was on its way when Das died. Of Motilal Nehru on whom devolved the sole leadership of the Swaraj Party, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the official historian of the Congress, observes:

> It was all a series of conflicts for Pandit Motilal with Jayakar, Lajpat Rai and Srinivasa Iyenger. A masterful personality like the

Pandit could not be all things to all men nor could he be the same himself all along.

Gandhi was released from jail in March 1924, two years after his imprisonment, on health grounds. He called for a building up of national unity and proposed a constructive programme to bring all parties together in the Congress. For the next five years, the Council programme held public attention; the general impression was that Gandhi had failed politically and that he would devote himself to the constructive programme—removal of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, temperance and Swadeshi. He had accepted defeat on the question of Council-entry; he had been horrified by communal riots and the growing antagonism between the communities. The Maharashtra Press under the lead of N. C. Kelkar was brutally critical and pressed for a "back-to-Lokamanya" policy; the Bengal newspapers rallied to C. R. Das while Bengal looked forward to a time of capturing the all-India leadership again; elsewhere there was a sense of suffering avoidable frustration through the voluntary abstention and boycotts of non-cooperation. Madras suffered from the rule of a favoured minority which was not checked from exercising patronage. Punjab and Bengal were critical of Congress concessions to Muslims. The Khilafat agitation had become meaningless on the abolition of the Caliphate but in India Gandhi's advocacy had helped to spread the Muslim's consciousness of belonging to the brotherhood of Islam to the remotest regions. Panchcowrie Bannerji felt that Muslims in Bengal in 1921 would not sacrifice Indian interests for the Khilafat. Prithwis Chandra Ray held that Indian Muslims had been greatly agitated by the Khilafat propaganda and would as a community hold aloof if there was an Afghan invasion. A shrewd assessment of journalism was that the bitterness of tone of the Indian language Press was due to the inferior position it was accorded by the officials, who were slow to appreciate the far-reaching implications of Gandhi's emphasis on Indian languages.

Equally unnoticed at the time was the general attitude of mistrust of the Government which the non-cooperation movement had instilled and which persisted after the non-cooperators under Gandhi's leadership had taken to constructive work. Even the Swarajists were imbued with it. The Press as a whole was intensely political; outside the Press there was growing up a public opinion

which was expectant of developments and suspicious of compromises. Das won support to his Council-entry programme because non-cooperation had reached stalemate and new forms were required. Motilal Nehru resisted office acceptance because public opinion would have rejected so close an association with temptation. The strength of suspicion may be judged from the opposition to Pandit Motilal Nehru's accepting a seat on the Skeen Committee for reorganising military education without securing the previous approval of his party, which culminated in a Congress mandate to throw out the Finance Bill and vacate their seats if no satisfactory answer was secured on the demand for political reforms.

Important to the growth of the Press was the development of indigenous industrial and commercial interests which forced Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Swaraj Party to return to the Central Legislature in the autumn of 1926 after having staged a walk-out in the budget session in March. The exchange ratio was proposed to be placed at 1s. 6d. and industrialists like Purushotamdas Thakurdas, G. D. Birla, Victor Sassoon and Gavin-Jones opposed it in the legislature. Naturally the Press was widely canvassed and campaigns were run all over the country. Steel protection was also a topic on which Swarajist support was sought since 1924. Since 1920 Indian industries had come in for special attention and questions relating to labour welfare and housing figured in the Central Assembly. The textile industry had a special interest for Bombay. The support which these enterprises gave to the Press was not through advertising so much as through campaign financing. The 1s. 6d. controversy was significant as marking the interest of Indian business in Congress politics. The great development in the Indian Press since 1913 had been the increased use of modern machinery—the speed rotary was replacing the flat-bed and the more prosperous establishments were extending their press and equipping them for better production and larger circulations. The *Times of India* in Bombay and the *Statesman* in Calcutta were pioneers in this respect, and the *Englishman*, the *Bengalee* and the *Hindu* followed closely.

In 1927, S. Sadanand started the Free Press of India News Agency to provide national coverage and propagate Indian commercial views. He was backed by Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas, Walchand Hirachand, Sir Phiroze Sethna, G. D. Birla and M. R. Jayakar. Sadanand himself who was a critical follower of Gandhi, was a journalist to the core, being brought up from his childhood in the

atmosphere of Tamil journalism, of which his father was a vigorous practitioner. He had joined Gandhi and been greatly influenced by his insistence on moral values. He became aware of the limitations of a news agency functioning under government patronage and, as the reports of the semi-official Associated Press failed to convey the complete picture of the national movement, he sought to correct the deficiency by launching an agency of his own. After strenuous effort for three years, he was disillusioned by the reluctance of the established newspapers to carry his news. The censorship which operated at the distribution end, had its counterpart for one thing at the receiving end; and the Associated Press was energetic in guarding its secured position. In 1930, Sadanand launched the *Free Press Journal* from Bombay as a half anna newspaper, concentrating on political news. He was in a way the pioneer of popular journalism so far as English newspapers went; his direct approach, his simplification of issues, his energetic espousal of popular causes and his vigorous campaigning caught the public imagination. He planned on a large scale and it was his ambition to establish a world news agency and a chain of newspapers throughout India. To great qualities as a journalist—he had a nose for news and the capacity to get more out of man and machine than most others—were added a rugged individuality, an embarrassing independence and a fierce possessiveness. He alarmed his business friends by the magnitude of his schemes; he made lasting friends in the profession but his colleagues were overwhelmed by his exacting demands and his haunting suspicions. In 1935, when last minute efforts were made by B. G. Kher to rescue the *Free Press Journal* from closure, he gave up the attempt because Vithalbhai Patel told him that he would "rather see a child of my brain dead than passing into the hands of my opponents," a sentiment which accorded with his own views. He combined a strange predilection for adventures on the side with an almost fanatical dedication to journalism. For instance, in 1946-47, with the contract for paper-back books in his hands and the certainty of a good market in India, he turned it down as foreign to his whole character—a consideration which had not apparently struck him earlier.

The history of the Sadanand venture is the history of the Indian Press. From 1923 to 1930, the Press functioned without restrictions. A great deal had happened in the political sphere—the Sikh Gurudwara movement, the Muslim drift from national politics, the impres-

sive organisation of the North-West Frontier Red-Shirts, the Simon Commission and its boycott which was nearly general, the splintering of the Congress into Swarajists, Indian Nationalists and Responsive Cooperators, the forming of the Hindu Mahasabha, and the organisational work of the Congress under Gandhi's personal leadership. Dyarchy in the provinces, it was generally agreed, had failed everywhere except where communal parties had established themselves as in the Punjab and Madras. The communal representation provided in the 1919 Reforms had given scope for extreme communalists who pitched their extravagant claims, and public attention was directed towards the evils of separate electorates by the Punjab and Bengal Press. The *Indian Social Reformer*, alone among Indian journals, sought to direct attention against weightage in communal representation which gave importance to communalism, but with little success. Organised trade unions were formed by individual Congressmen, the Communists also operating from within the Congress as the only section in the Congress organised for labour work. Older workers like N. M. Joshi and Mrinal Kanti Ghose found industrialists coming to terms with Communists rather than with them. The Government of India promulgated a Public Safety Ordinance and the Meerut Conspiracy arrests of 31 persons charged with preaching Communism and waging war against the King-Emperor started the tedious proceedings which went on for 4½ years. It was significant of the times, for at no other period would such a case have been possible. Some of the accused were connected with journalism and with the Congress but the arrests involved no outstanding figure in journalism or politics.

Lord Irwin who succeeded Reading in 1926 appealed for communal unity, and the situation seemed peaceful enough for him to announce, after a visit to England for consultations, a Round Table Conference to consider the proposals of the Simon Commission. But the Congress threw out the offer at Lahore in 1929, declared its goal to be complete Independence, and stated that in view of this decision there was no purpose to be served in attending the Conference. The All India Congress Committee was authorized to launch a programme of civil disobedience and on March 12, 1930 Gandhi's salt satyagraha was launched. Early in April, Gandhi himself was arrested and in May a Press Ordinance was issued reviving the provisions of the Press Act of 1910. By July 1930, 131 newspapers were called upon to pay securities; nine suspended publication and

Rs. 250,000 were deposited with the Government. There were six other Ordinances, all directed to control the civil disobedience movement.

A Conservative Government succeeded the coalition Government of Lloyd George in 1922 and a Labour Government held a shaky tenure in 1924 as a minority Government, giving way to the Conservatives until 1929 when an effective Labour Government came to power. The outside influences that worked on India, were the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, Irish Independence, the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, and the success of British Socialists in the United Kingdom. Indirectly working through the British Government of India was the realisation that Indian Princes should be associated in the political life of the country and that with this association some form approximating Dominion Status was appropriate to India. The communal disorders on the other hand and the solution arrived at in Palestine and in Ireland had impressed British Conservative opinion, and Lord Peel the first Conservative Secretary of State for India of the period had declared his opinion that, for communities of non-British extraction living together in any Empire country, partition was the only solution. While the Indian political world had got together to formulate a scheme of its own in answer to the challenge of British politicians and the Simon Commission Report, Indian officialdom had assisted an American writer to get together *Mother India*, an indictment of the Indian people which provoked several rejoinders from well-known social reformers and journalists.

It was not surprising that Sadanand should have felt the need to extend the activities of his Free Press News Agency beyond India. In India, the Press was reluctant to use the messages of the service because of the Government's policy towards satyagraha news. Pressure was exercised by the Government on the directors, four of whom resigned in 1929 and the fifth in 1931. The Government came down heavily on newspapers using Free Press news and the Press Ordinance of 1930 seriously affected the fortunes of the service, which lost its more prosperous clientele. The Associated Press too exerted pressure by insisting that its service would not be available to newspapers subscribing to any other agency. In 1930, Sadanand launched the *Free Press Journal* which revolutionised Indian journalism and found an instant public. It featured news in bold type on the front page; it published summaries of lengthy

reports; and it slanted its selection and presentation of news to a nationalist angle. It supported Gandhi in his civil disobedience; it strongly criticised the Government and British politicians; it was vigorous in its condemnation of the least deviation by Indian leaders; and it specialised in catering to the rank and file and the volunteers of the Congress. The established newspapers objected to a news agency entering the field of newspaper production in rivalry with its clients, and withdrew their support.

In 1932, Sadanand followed up his *Journal* with the evening *Free Press Bulletin* also from Bombay and the Gujerati *Nav Bharat*; and bought over the *Indian Express* in Madras. In 1934, he launched the Tamil *Dinamani* in Madras, the Marathi *Navasakti* in Bombay and the English *Free India* in Calcutta which ran for a few months. He planned too to run English newspapers in Delhi, Lucknow and Lahore, for which he secured machinery and editors. But the opposition of the Associated Press which drew in the established newspapers, the withdrawal of support from his financiers and the relentless severity of the Government broke Sadanand who could not count on the support of influential Congress leaders. The campaign of civil disobedience and the Government's policy of exerting its full force to contain the movement and prevent the participation and association of the people with it did not prevent the Round Table Conference from being held in London. Indian opinion, as indicated by press comments, looked on the Conference with little interest; Indian opinion outside the Press was frankly suspicious, deriding the selected delegates. A section of the Press asked for the Conference to be held in India, where the strength of national feeling could not be ignored. Despite this, however, arrangements were made for a comprehensive coverage of the proceedings of the Conference. Reuter was keyed to supply complete news of the Conference; the Free Press of India had its men in London to send reports about the Conference and all developments connected with it; and the *Hindu*, the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Leader*, the *Times of India*, the *Statesman*, the *Madras Mail* and the *Pioneer* had special representatives at the Conference. Chintamani and B. Shiva Rao were delegates, and F. W. Wilson, editor of the *Pioneer*, who had adopted a radical line was present in London reporting the discussions for his paper. Wilson had completely reorganised the *Pioneer*, brought its price down to one anna, altered its policy to left of the *Leader*, and sought

to make it replace the defunct *Independent*. Between Motilal Nehru and Wilson there was close understanding and the *Pioneer's* old readership and advertisements fell off but the circulation soared among Indians. Wilson later came over to Bombay to edit the *Indian Daily Mail*. The *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay launched by J. B. Petit with F. W. Holsinger as its editor was started on a lavish scale as an evening newspaper with several editions. Petit had to cut his losses after a while, and, after a short spell with Chintamani as editor, Natarajan took up the post, giving the *Indian Daily Mail* an all-India reputation. Natarajan resigned over questions relating to the finances of the paper and Wilson succeeded him.

The Press Ordinance of May 1930 raised a storm of protest in the country, and was the occasion for the first impressive conference of Indian editors held under the presidentship of A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Editor of the *Hindu*. The session was preceded by a message from Pandit Motilal Nehru to Rangaswami commending suspension of publication as a protest—at least a token suspension. Rangaswami's reaction was a repudiation of the very concept of dictation from a political leader and a warning to Congress leaders to desist from interference. Despite Indian opinion, however, the policy of the Government continued to be one of regulating the Press as a first step in preserving law and order. In 1931, the Press Emergency Powers Act was adopted for only one year to meet the recrudescence of terrorist violence in Bengal and elsewhere. Curiously enough *India in 1931-32* needlessly justifies this measure which, after all, did secure the consent of the Legislative Assembly, as a precaution to restrain the angry feelings of Calcutta Europeans.

The Congress, after considerable hesitation, decided to participate in the second Round Table Conference, and Gandhi was to be sole spokesman for the party. The Press work in connection with the first session had been effective in rousing interest in India. Gandhi negotiated a pact with Irwin by the terms of which civil disobedience was to be discontinued in return for the withdrawal of ordinances promulgated in connection with the movement and the release of satyagrahi prisoners. Despite the care and precision with which the details of the pact were worked out, there was enough room for breaches on both sides. Though Gandhi was careful to describe the terms as a victory for both sides, Congressmen—as is apparent from the writings of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and events in India—took it to be a victory; and subsequent conflicts between

the bureaucracy and Congressmen necessitated fresh negotiations before Gandhi left for London. Willingdon, who had succeeded Irwin, solved the tangle after hesitating to interfere and Gandhi declared publicly that the officials and provincial Governments were hindering a settlement.

Within the Congress there were powerful elements opposed to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. That the repeal of ordinances would not cover ordinances promulgated to meet terrorist crime and that the execution of Bhagat Singh and two others for terrorist conspiracy took place; that the peasants of Gujerat and specially Bardoli would not come unscathed from the movement; and that Bengal was to continue under the ordinance to check terrorist crime—all this left large areas of discontent. Gandhi's London visit was not helpful for achieving an Indian settlement—either at the Round Table Conference or outside. The Muslims made a deal with the European community in Bengal by which in return for support at the Conference to British commercial interests in India they secured the promise of jobs in European firms. "The Muslims have become firm allies of the Europeans," remarked Benthall, reporting confidentially on the Round Table Conference. Gandhi was kept informed of the troubles in India by the Congress, and, when he returned to India leaving the communal adjustments to be settled by Ramsay Macdonald, he was met by Congress leaders from all over India. With Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru arrested two days before Gandhi's return to India, the pressure to start civil disobedience was strong.

In 1932, there began with brief interludes the fifteen year period of distrust and miscalculation—on both sides—which resulted in the sudden transfer of power and partition. Willingdon failed to control the bureaucrats and Gandhi lost his grip on his Congress lieutenants; instead of appreciating the similarity of their problems, they substituted recrimination for negotiation and argued the misconduct of affairs at long range. With the Congress trying to restrain the officials and the Government trying to put down the provincial leaders of the Congress, the foundations of an enduring stalemate were laid. The Communal Award of Ramsay Macdonald which was announced on August 17, 1932, proposed separate electorates for the depressed classes. Gandhi, before proceeding to the Second Round Table Conference, had been urged to accept reserved seats for the depressed classes but had turned down the

suggestion. At the Conference itself, careless handling of the question had roused opposition—notably from the depressed class leader, B. R. Ambedkar. The Award provoked Gandhi who announced a fast to secure its amendment, and, as Macdonald refused to alter it without an agreed settlement, negotiations were hurriedly taken up which resulted in the Communal Pact conceding reserved seats with primary elections among the depressed classes for selecting candidates—reversal of the proposal advocated by Natarajan before Gandhi's visit to England of resorting to separate elections only where general elections failed to bring in enough depressed class legislators.

The Round Table Conferences provide an interesting commentary on changing views in London. The first Conference was held when the Labour Government was in power and Ramsay Macdonald had made it clear that he would not be party to an imposed constitution. The second met under the aegis of the National Government which, though headed by Ramsay Macdonald, was dominated by the Conservatives. With Samuel Hoare as the Secretary of State for India and Willingdon as the Viceroy, it contrived a situation in which British commercial interests held the balance and manoeuvred for position. The third Conference, under wholly Conservative auspices, was a small affair from which both British Labour and the Congress kept out; it had been called to placate Indian liberal opinion which insisted on it. Willingdon's determination to join issue with the Congress was obviously inspired by the knowledge that the conference phase had ended and the responsibility of the British Parliament once again restored. The third Conference began its session in November 1932 and a White Paper was issued in March 1933 announcing the appointment of a Joint Parliamentary Select Committee to draft the Bill. The Government of India Act was passed in 1935 and, if it failed to give complete satisfaction, it was acceptable enough to bring the Congress into the provincial ministries in 1937.

There were other than political developments which had repercussions on the growth of the Press during these years: Most significant was the rise of Indian commercial and industrial interests which were organised in the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and whose leaders were closely associated with Gandhi and the Congress. The cinema—both on its production and distribution side—was coming up rapidly; civil aviation and commercial

wireless made their small beginnings around 1920; as mentioned earlier, the exchange question saw the first instance of press campaigning in 1926-27, and an intensified agitation followed a year later on reservation of coastal shipping to Indian shipping. Imperial preference was a live issue both before and after the Ottawa Agreement of 1932. The influence of the Indian business community over the Congress was beginning to attract the attention not only of European business but of Indian publicists. P. C. Ray in his writings and speeches was constantly drawing attention to the growing power of Indian businessmen both over the Congress and over the Government and warning the country to guard against this development. Though there were sections within the Congress opposed to business intrusion into politics, the Press as a whole gave little support to it. One of the features of this period was the close relations subsisting between Sadanand of the *Free Press* and several of India's leading business magnates. The dawn of modern journalism was further marked by the entry into India of the advertising agencies in the later twenties.

Another important development was the ties that were developing between Indian States and British India. Baroda, Mysore and Travancore had always been closely linked with progressive Indian movements; Hyderabad under Sir Akbar Hydari showed similar trends. But the Congress had resolutely excluded Indian Princes and their problems from its deliberations. Gandhi kept in this to the old tradition. But in 1921, Amritlal Seth began his campaign on conditions in the States and kept it on through the years. His agitation was both political and journalistic —the latter beginning with *Phulchhab* in Saurashtra. Gandhi, however, was disposed to leave the Princes alone. He reversed the Congress Subjects Committee's resolution championing the deposed ruler of Nabha in 1925; and in 1931 he advised the Round Table Conference not to press the Princes too hard. In 1934, Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature after Motilal Nehru, advised the Princes to stand firm on their rights when they consulted him about the Federation and the Government of India. Despite the close association of Prince and politician, however, there was a growing antipathy towards the rulers in the Press nursed by the Indian States Peoples Federation, a political association operating from British India. And following the practice in British India, the States too set up publicity departments. Since there were no

important newspapers in the States, the British Indian Press was the chief outlet for these departments.

In 1921, the Satyagrahis were 30,000 in number, writes Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya; in 1930-31, within a short space of 10 months, he remarks, 90,000 men, women and children were convicted and sentenced, and "the number beaten cannot be less than three or four times the number imprisoned." The official figures are lower: 18,725 in March 1931, and over 60,000 by the end of 1931. But in 1932, the Government was well prepared for the trial of strength and it moved almost simultaneously with Gandhi's intimation of renewing the movement. There was also little of that bewilderment in handling the Satyagrahis and none of that regard for the non-violent intentions of the Congress which had restrained three Viceroys, Chelmsford, Reading and Irwin. Willingdon was amiable but he was completely in the hands of the senior officials and, having been a provincial governor in two presidencies in India, he tended to allow governors considerable authority. He had, moreover, armed himself with special powers under a number of Ordinances, and he applied them ruthlessly. He had the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act of October 1931 which was adopted as an emergency measure for one year and as limited to incitement or approval of murder and acts of violence, expanded to bring within its scope any book, newspaper or document containing any words, signs or visible representations which tend directly or indirectly

1. to seduce any officer, soldier, sailor or airman in the military, naval or air forces of His Majesty or any police officer from his allegiance or his duty, or
2. to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of justice in British India or any Indian Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty, or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government or any such Prince or Chief, or
3. to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or to do any act which he is not legally

bound to do, or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do, or

4. to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or to commit any offence, or to refuse or defer payment of any land-revenue, tax, rate, cess or other due or amount payable to Government or to any local authority, or any rent of agricultural land or anything recoverable as arrears of or along with such rent, or
5. to induce a public servant or a servant of a local authority to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with exercise of his public functions or to resign his office, or
6. to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects, or
7. to prejudice the recruiting of persons to serve in any of His Majesty's forces, or in any police force, or to prejudice the training, discipline or administration of any such force.

He had three other Ordinances directed at no-tax campaigns, picketing and boycott and the property of organisations involved in civil disobediences. Though the ferocity with which he acted took the Congress and the public by surprise, he showed no inclination to give up the special powers. Apart from this, in 1931-32, offences against a ruler of an adjoining State, his consort or son or principal minister including defamatory statements and matter prejudicial to friendly relations with an adjoining State were brought under the penal provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. Further in 1934 the Indian States Protection Act was passed which, after extending the Emergency Powers Act of 1931 to Indian States, enacted further that

4. (1) When a District Magistrate or in a Presidency-town the Chief Presidency Magistrate is of opinion that within his jurisdiction attempts are being made to promote assemblies of persons for the purpose of proceeding from British India into the territory of a State in India and that the entry of such persons into the said territory or their presence therein is likely or will tend to cause obstruction to the Administration of the said State or danger to human life or safety or a disturbance of the public tranquillity or a riot or an affray

within the said territory, he may, by order in writing stating the material facts of the case, prohibit within the area specified in the order the assembly of five or more persons in furtherance of the said purpose.

(2) When an order under sub-section (1) has been made, and for so long as it remains in force, any assembly of five or more persons held in contravention of the order shall be an unlawful assembly within the meaning of Section 141 of the Indian Penal Code, and the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Indian Penal Code and of Chapter IX of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall apply accordingly.

(3) An order under sub-section (1) shall be notified by proclamation published in the specified area in such places and in such manner as the Magistrate may think fit, and a copy of such order shall be forwarded to the Local Government.

(4) No order under sub-section (1) shall remain in force for more than two months from the making thereof, unless the Local Government, by notification in the local official Gazette, otherwise directs.

5. (1) Where, in the opinion of a District Magistrate or in a Presidency-town the Chief Presidency Magistrate, there is sufficient ground for proceeding under this section and immediate prevention or speedy remedy is desirable, such Magistrate may, by written order stating the material facts of the case and served in the manner provided by Section 134 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, direct any person to abstain from a certain act if such Magistrate considers that such direction is likely to prevent or tends to prevent obstruction to the Administration of a State in India or danger to human life or safety or a disturbance of the public tranquillity or a riot or an affray within the said State.

(2) An order under sub-section (1) may, in cases of emergency or in cases where the circumstances do not admit of the serving in due time of a notice upon the person against whom the order is directed, be passed ex-parte.

(3) An order under sub-section (1) may be directed to a particular individual, or to the public generally.

(4) A District Magistrate or Presidency Magistrate may, either on his own motion or on the application of any person aggrieved, rescind or alter any order made under sub-section

(1) by himself or by his predecessor in office.

(5) Where such an application is received, the Magistrate shall afford to the applicant an early opportunity of appearing before him either in person or by pleader and showing cause against the order; and if the Magistrate rejects the application wholly or in part, he shall record in writing his reasons for so doing.

(6) No order under sub-section (1) shall remain in force for more than two months from the making thereof unless the Local Government, by notification in the local official Gazette, otherwise directs.

6. (1) Whoever wilfully disobeys or neglects to comply with any direction contained in an order made under sub-section (1) of section 5, or in such order as altered under sub-section (4) of that section, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.
(2) An offence under this section shall be an offence for which a police-officer may arrest without warrant.

7. No court shall take cognizance of any offence punishable under section 2 unless upon complaint made by order of, or under authority from the Governor General in Council or the Local Government.

The Congress, on the other hand, had lost considerable prestige because of its growing interest in details, its diminishing grasp of general principles, and its anxiety to devote intervals of peace to sharpening its weapons for the next encounter. The Congress too had shown how susceptible to official interference it was and how averse to accept the challenge as a matter of routine. Gandhi had sought reinforcements to the Pact before going to London; the Congress Party before deciding to accept office in the provinces similarly sought assurances from the Governors that there would be no undue interference. Generally speaking, further difficulties were added by the fact that the Congress politician as a rule was unable to convince opponents because he was eager to present them in the worst light even when negotiating with them, that the Congress as a party was suspicious of its own leaders, and that the mass following it sought tended to foster demagogy or the political art of couching moderate policies in extremist language.

As a result the Congress received general sympathy when it was in

trouble and considerable criticism when it had the upper hand. The number of newspapers which could be called Congress, was small. During the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930, unregistered cyclostyled sheets came into existence, which were devoted to printing satyagraha news and had all the attractions of forbidden activity. The Swaraj Party under C. R. Das had cultivated the Press; apart from the *Forward* in Calcutta, Das had the support of the *Bengalee*; the *Hindu* of Madras upheld his views; the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay pursued an independent policy, offering for a time a wider forum for Natarajan's views; the *Bombay Chronicle*, its ownership passing into the hands of the Cama family in the early thirties, followed a balanced policy, attempting a smoothing over of party conflicts; the *Hindustan Times* was a Swaraj Party newspaper; the *Tribune* of Lahore and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of Calcutta were not unfriendly; and the *Leader* of Allahabad was staunchly Liberal. But more important than the attitude of the newspapers was the appreciation that Das was making news. With the death of Das, the distinction between Gandhian Congressmen and Swarajists was blurred, the former accepting the Swaraj Party programme of Council-entry in return for the Swarajists' submission to centralised control. The *Forward* declined after Das's death and in 1929 the *Liberty* took its place, supporting Subhas Chandra Bose against the *Advocate* which supported J. M. Sen-Gupta. The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (1926) established itself as the leading Bengali newspaper and its English counterpart the *Hindustan Standard* was launched in 1937. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* replied with the Bengali *Yugantar*. Das sponsored the Bengali daily *Banglar Katha* and the weekly *Atmasakti* but their fortunes were linked with those of the *Forward*. In Poona, N. B. Parulekar promoted the *Sakal* in 1931, and, by the adoption of modern techniques, it came to occupy the leading place in Marathi journalism.

In contrast to the proliferation of the Indian Press, the British Press in India entered a phase of contraction. The *Pioneer* was the first to pass into Indian hands in 1933 when the landowning interests of Uttar Pradesh bought it over; the *Englishman* of Calcutta merged into the *Statesman*; the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Madras Mail* and the *Times of India* were in 1937 in British hands. The *Times of India* and the *Madras Mail* were the first to employ Indian sub-editors on their staff around 1924—the *Pioneer* following suit much later, and the *Statesman* falling in last. There was little

specialisation. A small staff looked after the whole newspaper. But arrangement of news had set in. There was a commercial page and a sports page, and general news pressed heavily on these columns. Cinema reviews were regular both because of the film advertisements and because of the free tickets enjoyed by the staff.

There were national advertisers but advertisers commanded little influence with the Press. The new advertising agencies needed to educate the Press on their utility. News was not featured on the front page; display was to a set pattern. Bombay differed from other cities in that a spirit of competition was introduced when the *Indian Daily Mail* bid for first place. An evening newspaper, it put out several editions forcing the *Times of India* to enter the field with the *Evening News*. News all over was becoming important; the leading newspapers brought out mofussil editions, directing their coverage to special regions. Since the plums in an English-owned newspaper office were reserved for men brought over from England and journalists on Indian newspapers were poorly paid, there was no outside pressure on staff appointments. But the apprentice system found ready candidates and the practice was availed of to secure reporters and sub-editors for Indian newspapers. Politicians who had no connection with the Press, sometimes paid to have their doings and utterances reported; and in Bombay pooling of news soon succeeded the short period of competition. On the Indian newspapers, no one associated journalism with drudgery with the result that reporters rarely knew shorthand and proof-reading was at a low level. With low and irregularly paid incomes, enthusiasm had to do service for efficiency. Horniman's claim that he could make a journalist out of anyone, was quoted long after it was uttered as a journalistic heresy; and his attempts to prove his point led to some incongruous situations. But in the thirties it was a qualification to be able to claim that one had been trained by Horniman.

Newspapers carried the characteristics of their regions. The Calcutta Press, mark of the better times when Calcutta was the imperial capital, aimed at a national status, following the example set by the older newspapers like the *Statesman* and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*. The British commercial community had great influence in determining the content and policy of the *Statesman*. Bombay's newspapers grew to national status by reason of their association with all-India leaders or the Government of India.

The *Times of India* during Lovat Fraser's editorship was a staunch supporter of Curzon; under Stanley Reed, it carried weight with Hardinge and Chelmsford. The *Bombay Chronicle* had a number of leading Indian publicists associated in its conduct—Phirozeshah Mehta, Umar Sobani, M. A. Jinnah, Motilal Nehru and Chimanlal Setalvad. The freer atmosphere of commercial life in Bombay which had strong indigenous business interests, contributed to more normal conditions in the newspaper world. In Madras, the *Hindu* built itself up to national status by its moderation. It took an equally keen interest in the Civil Disobedience movement and in the constitutional development through the legislatures. The *Leader* of Allahabad was valued for the vigour of its writings. The *Tribune* in Lahore had developed into a national institution under Kalinath Roy. Bombay for long withstood the lure of matrimonial advertisements, which were regular features of Indian newspapers in the rest of India.

Circulations stayed below 20,000 as a rule; though circulation claims began to be inflated around the thirties. The development of communications—the railway, the post and the telegraph—made it possible for newspapers from one centre to serve a wide area. Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and later Delhi grew into centres of Indian journalism. Journalism in Delhi was of slow growth. The *National Call*, an English daily appearing both morning and evening, with the Hindi *Navyug*, came out as Delhi's first one anna newspaper; it also introduced a Sunday edition.

PART FOUR

Democracy and the Press

CHAPTER XVI

The Background

of Rukhsana Shawn

> One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects.
>
> —M. K. GANDHI

INDIAN interests were widening. The first of the series of aggressions which were to lead to the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, had started and with each new incident Indian opinion as expressed on platform and in the Press was in favour of collective security and critical of the Western democracies. The futility of the League of Nations was as strongly condemned in India as it was in Leftist circles in Europe. Jawaharlal Nehru had just returned from Europe where he had participated in anti-imperialist and socialist conferences. The Socialist Party and the Communists were active in organising youth leagues and students' movements. Operating as Congressmen they spread radical views throughout the country. Gandhi's constructive programme—communal unity, removal of untouchability, handspun cloth and national education—held little interest but it had served to rouse dissatisfaction. The younger generation were impressed by Russia's entry into world affairs, and defensive Communism had its attractions. The achievements and struggles of other nations added to the impatience felt at the dilatoriness of the Congress. Expressing an opinion which was obviously the reflection of the Gandhian group, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya says:

> The youth of the country began to be fascinated by the quick results that were expected to follow a coup d'etat through the play of violence. In the jails in the years 1930-34 they came in contact with and under the tuition of men who had suffered the most inhuman treatment at the hands of the British in India for their faith in violence which had led them to make heavy sacrifices and face with the utmost nonchalance cruelties inflicted on them . . . . The teachings of M. N. Roy, secretly circulated,

> created a new faith or revived the old faith, in violence. Besides the apparent failure of the movement of non-violence leading to an attenuation of that attitude of arrogance and despotism in the rulers which for a time lay dormant gave an added impetus to the wavering beliefs of the young who were still on the borderline. There was a cry of socialism all round amongst the youth of the country. Students federations and Youth Leagues became the order of the day. A regular party was carved out ere long called the Congress Socialist Party and began to function as an organized group within the Congress. There gradually arose a party called the Communist Party which soon overwhelmed the former. The C. S. P. and the C. P. became familiar terms. Conspiracy cases conducted by the Government unfolded these truths to an ignorant public. In the South it was plainly put in an annual report of the C. S. P. that the C. S. P. was really functioning as the C. P. The C. S. P. soon lost wind and by 1940 almost disappeared leaving the field to the C. P. whose activities became marked during the second world war.
>
> . . . Jawaharlal Nehru came back to India full of communistic and marxian ideas.

Apart from these forces, another important factor was the emergence of Indian women into public life. In the All India Women's Conference, they found a non-party front for their activities, and they were able to keep the Conference free of politics. In the Congress the women had forced themselves on the attention of Gandhi and secured the right to participate in his movements. A stabilising force in politics, they added great weight to the propaganda side of the non-cooperation movement.

The Congress declared itself wholly opposed to the Government of India Act of 1935. They opposed federation because the Princes were not democratic; they rejected the provincial part of the Act because of the implied distrust in the safeguards and the fear that the Governors with their discretionary powers and the Civil Service with their innate antagonism to the Congress would combine to defeat the reforms—a section led by Jawaharlal Nehru feared that provincialism and small regional reforms would weaken the movement for national independence; they delayed a decision on office acceptance because of the strength of the internal opposition; and they sought assurances that no special powers would be fri-

volously exercised. The last was a strange insistence when the attitude of the Congress was one of general distrust, and its anomaly was further shown when, after the elections, the decision to take office was taken with the proviso that Congressmen would accept office to wreck the Act.

The Congress, having fought the 1934-36 elections without deciding on office entry in the provinces, decided to accept office. The interpretation placed on this action by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was that the electorate, where it had returned the Congress candidates in large numbers, had declared its approval of the negative policy of the Congress, and the Congress had put the ministers in power. The Congress, therefore, exercised a control over the ministers which was extra-constitutional. An equally valid view was that the electorate had not been educated to see any good in the Act and that the temporary success of that section of the Congress which felt this way, called for a fresh mandate. But a large section of the party consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose and the younger elements was opposed to the acceptance of office. The Press was impatient of the delays that had taken place in securing assurances from the Governors and welcomed the formation of ministries in all the provinces. In the reformed Central Legislature, Congress and Muslim League had worked together since 1934 and there had been an identity of interest between the election campaigns of Congress and League in Uttar Pradesh. The Congress declared against coalitions with parties that did not subscribe to the Congress programme but it did not expect this decision to recoil on itself.

It was natural, perhaps, for it to choose as Ministers from among the minorities men who were prepared to accept its lead. But in the United Provinces, the impression had been given that the Congress and the Muslim League would form a joint Ministry if the Congress decided to accept office and, if it did not, the League would have a prominent part in the Ministry. Chintamani's *Leader*, by no means, inclined to pamper the Muslim League, observed that the League was expected to have two seats in the U. P. Ministry. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Congress, however, insisted that the Muslim League in the U. P. Legislature should merge into the Congress and abide by the discipline of the Congress. It secured a temporary triumph when one Muslim Leaguer accepted the offer, submitted his action to the electorate and obtained confirmation

through a decisive majority over his League rival. The Congress was absorbed too much in the administrative work of the Ministers to pay heed to the repercussions of this policy on Muslims all over India.

The only part of the Congress which had the leisure to study events and draw conclusions was the section intent on wrecking the Act and precipitating a conflict. Subhas Bose in this situation was a powerful factor. He had been impressed by the streamlined efficiency of modern parties in Continental Europe, and he repeatedly advocated an overhaul of the Congress Party in order to enable it not only to wrest power but to stay in power to mould the country. In February 1938, he called in his presidential address to the Congress for the formation of a Congress "army." This was taken up in the United Provinces where the Congress Committee enrolled some 25,000 volunteers and drilled them in uniform. The Congress as a whole disapproved of this activity and it did not spread in other provinces. But other parties took up the concept in North India. The Congress Socialist Party in the Punjab formed a national militia; the Khaksars under Mashriqi, an ex-member of the Education Department, got together a band of 7,000 volunteers, dressed in khaki and marching with spades in their hands. The Akali Sikhs and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Redshirts had always impressed the Congress by their discipline and efficient organisation, and they do not come under the category of the political "armies" of the 1939 period. The Muslim League developed its volunteers later.

To Congress Ministries, the interest in their work shown by partymen who were eager to discredit office acceptance and bring it to an early end, was embarrassing in the extreme. The Working Committee in September 1938 under the influence of Gandhi adopted a resolution which by its gravity admitted interference from provincial Congress Committees. It read:

> It has come to the notice of the Congress that Congress Committees interfere with the ordinary administration . . . by seeking to influence officers and other members of the services. The Congress advises Congressmen not to interfere with the new course of administration.

Another resolution in 1939 (June) reinforced this message more clearly:

> In administrative matters the Provincial Congress Committee should not interfere with the discretion of the Ministry.... In matters of policy, if there is a difference between the Ministry and the Provincial Congress Committee, reference should be made to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. Public discussion in such matters should be avoided.

The inability of the Governments of the United Provinces and Bihar to restrain the revolutionary fervour of extremists in the party came up constantly before the All India Congress; the firm measures adopted in Madras where the veteran C. Rajagopalachari headed the Government provoked angry comment among the Congress Socialists. In the U.P., Govind Ballabh Pant, the Congress Chief Minister, faced a peculiarly difficult position. Jawaharlal Nehru overshadowed the Ministry and he was in sympathy with the extremists. More, he guided the policy of the *National Herald* launched in August 1938, an English daily supporting the Congress but not enamoured of the U.P. Ministry. The U.P. Government, in fact, was the worst placed of the provincial governments in that it had no Press support worth the name. The *Pioneer* as a landholders' newspaper was critical of the Congress; the *Leader* as a Liberal organ followed an independent policy which hardly served the cause of the Ministers; and the *National Herald*, the latest arrival in the field, pursued an uncritical pro-Russian line which carried even the Communist, Marxist sympathies of Nehru beyond reasonable limits. Madras stood at the other extreme, both because of the prestige of Rajagopalachari and the long training in administration which that province had experienced. To the relief felt at the ending of the non-Brahmin regime, the competence of the Congress Ministry added more positive reasons for satisfaction. Mr. Rajagopalachari took no time to restrain the enthusiasts for temple-entry, to prevent the Socialists from agitating and to secure the administration from party interference; he was cautious with the introduction of Prohibition; and his only provocative act was the attempt to make Hindi compulsory which roused general opposition. He received discriminating support from the *Hindu*, and the *Madras Mail* when it criticised him did so with moderation. The *Justice* ceased to count with the rout of the non-Brahmin Party and attempts to produce a popular paper to propagate the same views failed hopelessly.

In Bombay, there was a Congress newspaper in the *Bombay Chronicle* which pursued a policy of supporting the party in all its decisions—differences of opinion only appearing on all India questions; the *Free Press Journal*, restarted in 1937, broadly Congress, critical of the leadership but with little enthusiasm for the Socialists; and the *Times of India* cautious in comment, concerned to maintain its leadership but occasionally treading on ministerial corns. The Central Provinces had a weak Press to deal with and the Congress Ministry suffered more from the proximity of Gandhi to which it was less able to adjust itself than Bombay which too had the influence of Gandhi to reckon with. The shifts to keep his Government in power, gave Fazlul Huq of Bengal little time to concern himself with the Press, but the *Hindustan Standard* gave him some support; the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* had assumed the mantle of respectability and conducted itself with restraint; and the *Statesman* with the European block in the Legislature coming to Fazlul Huq's aid more than once was a valuable ally in trouble.

In the Punjab, the Unionists to start with had a fairly good Press, the *Tribune* under Kalinath Ray pursuing a Congress policy but not unsympathetic to the Ministry, and the *Civil and Military Gazette* appreciative of a Government which warded off both the Congress and the Muslim League from the province—a unique condition to which Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan bore witness when he appealed to Punjabi patriotism and asked to be let alone by the rest of India. Bengal, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province depended on the support of all India parties—the Congress or the League; and their struggles were mostly directed to keeping them off with small concessions. The first feature of the assumption of office by the Congress Ministries was their subordination to the centralised control of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. It inspired Mr. Jinnah to seek a similar arrangement with the Muslim ministries of Bengal, Sind, the Punjab and Assam. In the first phase of the Congress unity, there came about a changed attitude to the Indian States and a mass contact programme to bring unattached Muslims into the Congress. Gandhi who had repeatedly recommended non-interference in the States was won over to accept Congress support of people's movements there, the participation of individual Congressmen in States' agitation and the adoption of resolutions critical of the administration of

the Princes. The mass contact movement was taken up in 1937 and met with initial success, specially in the U.P. But as the programme developed, it grew sufficiently serious to alarm the Muslim League and frighten the non-League Ministers. Mr. Jinnah responded to the challenge, carried the League flag into the rural areas for the first time and netted the Chief Ministers of Bengal, Assam and the Punjab.

The Bombay Press during the two years of the Congress Ministry was full of the attempt to introduce Prohibition and the concept of financing it with a tax on urban immovable property. The warning that such a measure would link two strands of opposition together was ignored. The urban tax was regarded as a blow at the minorities by a section of the Press; the ban on liquor, it was repeatedly said, was to be applied in Bombay against the wishes of the ministers and the considered views of Rajagopalachari who, himself an ardent temperance worker, considered the lack of homogeneity of Bombay's population and the absence of preparation drawbacks to the experiment. In the Central Provinces the sponsoring of the Wardha scheme of basic education provoked considerable criticism. By and large, more attention was paid to questions of principle than to the matter of selecting ministers which naturally was more important to Congressmen. But except for the two extremes, the North-West Frontier Province and Madras, the Congress held the reins tight over the provinces. The first measure of the new Ministries was to release political prisoners, restore forfeited property and return the deposits of the Press. In Bombay small subsidies were given to newspapers willing to carry on prohibition propaganda but on objections being raised these were given up.

Of the attitude of the Press, it could be said that, as experience of the Congress in power grew, it felt it was able to support the Congress in adversity much more than endure it in prosperity. The chapters dealing with this period in Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's *History of the Indian National Congress* unconsciously betray the mind of the Congress—triumphant, intolerant and confident. It was also expressed that office had impaired the idealism of the party. On the other hand, there was no conscious unfairness to any community and certainly no desire to have the Governors invoking their discretionary powers, with perhaps the possibility of dividing opinion. Apart from the fact that most of the Chief

Ministers were on the best of terms with their Governors, the Ministries showed a keen interest in putting through constructive work. The first flush of enthusiasm at taking office on Rs. 500 a month plus allowances had died down with lack of appreciation in the public of this act of renunciation; it added to the alienation of ministerial sympathy from the socialist enthusiasm of their extremist party men. In Assam, it helped the Congress leader, Bardoloi, to consolidate his Government when he replaced Saadullah as Chief Minister by increasing the number of ministers to include legislators with a following in the Assembly—an improvement on his predecessor's device of adding a minister to the original three on half the salary to be paid by the others.

Britain's declaration of war in defence of Poland was a surprise because it had come to be believed that the Chamberlain Government would not fight. Before Indian opinion could adjust itself to it, Lord Linlithgow announced that India too was in the war. There was considerable dissatisfaction that a vote had not been taken in the Central Legislature or that Indian leaders had not been consulted before the announcement but in the first few days opinion was strongly in favour of the war. Gandhi expressed his distress to the Viceroy in a personal interview, revealing the emotional side of his nature. Nehru observed "our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of democracy." Satyamurti in Madras told the *Madras Mail* that he preferred being ruled by the English to being ruled by any other people because "the English, in spite of certain drawbacks, and the many injustices done to us, are the only people who have a regard for principles and regard for public opinion, and have some good sense and political honesty left;" adding gratuitously, "If Hitler had been here, he would have shot Mahatma Gandhi and all of us by this time."

The public, and the Press no less, was bewildered by the conflicting views of Congressmen and the disclosures of Gandhi which followed in quick succession. It was told on September 9, 1939 that Gandhi had addressed an appeal to Hitler six weeks earlier to desist from war. On September 23, Gandhi disclosed that in the Congress Working Committee, "I was sorry to find myself alone in thinking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally." Later he confessed that the others were right and in any case the support the Congress could give was only moral. And finally he reached the conclusion that "the

only remedy to war was to resist all wars by non-violent resistance," which he conveyed to the British in a message "to every Briton." At this point in his thinking, the Congress Working Committee had moved in the other direction, willing to support the war if India's freedom was assured. Before that point was reached, the Congress Ministries had been vacated and Governor's rule established over the provinces affected; and the stage set for negotiations with the Muslim League for a united front, with the Congress bereft of any bargaining power. An interesting statement is made by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in his *History* which is reproduced here for what it is worth: "Gandhi was of the view that we must offer our moral support, allow the ministries to function, and he had the confidence that through the ministers, he could manoeuvre a declaration of Poorna Swaraj or Dominion Status, a declaration of the next step—the same that Jawahar expected by negotiation." There was certainly no inkling of this attitude at the time though we had the formation shortly after of an anti-compromise conference and the hostile demonstrations that greeted Gandhi later at Patna. But the Congress Ministries resigned and in the negotiations that went on it was obvious that the Congress with or without Gandhi was quite unable to convince the British or to achieve a united front with the Muslim League. The division of counsel in the Congress seems to have been at the root of various expedients being tried out.

There was little of importance during 1940 except certain reversals of policy by the Governors who had taken over. Congress protests against these carried little weight as the Press generally took the view that such objections were unseemly after the ministers had voluntarily vacated office. In October 1940, Gandhi launched his campaign of individual civil disobedience which was kept up till December 23 when some 600 Satyagrahis were under arrest. The launching of the movement was promptly countered by the Government banning reports of the campaign in the Press. Gandhi stopped his *Harijan* in protest. In the interval between December 23 and January 5, 1941 appeals were addressed in the Press to Gandhi to discontinue a programme which served little purpose apart from irritation. But it was resumed and, except in the United Provinces, was tolerated by the Government. Some 3,000 persons were arrested and, if the penalties imposed varied, so did the slogans raised by the men. In April the movement took on greater force and between 14,000 to 20,000 were convicted. Gandhi explained the object of

the campaign as a demonstration of the yearning for Independence and stressed the importance of non-violence. In the first phase of the movement, Subhas Bose was to be selected as a Satyagrahi but Gandhi turned down the request. A few days later Bose escaped to Berlin, appearing later on the radio advocating revolt and justifying cooperation with Britain's enemies for India's freedom.

The strain of these developments on the Press can well be believed. With the outbreak of the war, Indian newspapers faced great difficulties. Owing to the general improvidence of most managements, all except a few Indian newspapers and the British newspapers in India had neglected to stock sufficient newsprint to meet at least temporarily any emergency. When the Government of India entered the war and adopted emergency measures, an early precaution was to control available supplies of paper and ration out the total among existing newspapers. At first, the Government allotted 10 per cent of the total paper available to the Press. The effect was a great deal of inconvenience and a number of problems which individual newspapers were unable to handle on their own. The Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society was formed to meet the situation and it secured an increase of the press quota to 30 per cent. There was resentment on the part of the provident newspapers at being forced to share their stocks with those who had grudged the investment in extra stock. The bigger newspapers could control their quota by restricting subscriptions; the smaller ones which had limited circulations, had to reduce their pages. An already perplexing situation was rendered more confused by inflated circulation claims to obtain larger quotas which went by past performance. And the bureaucracy gained a strategic position by being empowered to determine the quotas of newspapers. Obviously few newspapers could come into existence without official favour.

The success that the Society had achieved in toning down the rigours of this system, encouraged the members to attempt to establish personal contact on a broader scale – the members of the Society were just 14 at the time—between the Government and the Press. It might be said that in the early years the members of the Society were more apprehensive of the general membership of the Editors Conference than of the officials. But the responsibility of negotiating for the Press with the Government was beyond the capacity of a small group. And, with Gandhi's campaign of individual Satyagraha, the Government adopted a plan of rigid control

over publication of Indian news. Hitherto attention had been concentrated on news coming in from abroad, reproduction of enemy propaganda and the like. Now the anxiety was to suppress the news of Gandhi's pacifist preaching. The Government clamped down on district reporting and asked for the acceptance of an elaborate system of control. The order seemed so unworkable that a meeting of editors was called by the Society to meet at Delhi towards the end of 1940 to protest and to secure modifications. As a result, the All India Newspapers Editors Conference came into being as a permanent organisation. From the start, several factors divided the Conference. At the Delhi meeting, there had been differences between the members of the Society itself and the minority sought to strengthen themselves by rallying the general body. There were superficial differences between the Congress editors and the independent editors, which showed in the discussion on securing the revival of the *Harijan* which Gandhi had suspended on the Government's assumption of drastic powers. There was general suspicion of the British newspapers in India because of their sympathy with the Government and the large number of men they had sent into the Government offices. And there was the cleavage between the large majority and the very small section of Muslim League newspapers. To avoid the disaster of losing the weight of the British Press which would have been inevitable had the Standing Committee been filled by election, the President was given the right of nominating a certain number. The editors of the *Times of India*, the *Statesman*, the *Madras Mail* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* thus were ensured of their seats on the Committee. The Muslim League Press secured their interests by the strength of the political party outside the Conference, they being too small, too few and too unimpressive to obtain "reserved seats" in the Conference executive. But the Conference as a whole was sufficiently conscious of the danger of becoming a "Hindu" body to neglect their interests.

As the habit of consultation among themselves, a consequence of having to deal with the Government, grew with the years, the propertied newspapers found that their less prosperous colleagues were as eager as they were to continue functioning; the British element showed marked adaptability and genuine interest to restrain bureaucratic excess and defend the reasonable rights of the Press; and on communal questions, all sections—however extreme their policies in their newspapers might have been—developed the habit

of deploring conflict, condemning violence and professing a concern for peace. It was a little embarrassing to find enthusiastic advocates of communal peace at the Conference going back to their desks to preach extreme communalism but the Conference, without strength of its own hesitated to invoke the authority of the Government, and lapses were passed over. The Conference established the right to be consulted on all matters affecting the Press, improvised a form of pre-censorship for which the joint thinking of Sir Reginald Maxwell and Syed Abdullah Brelvi devised the euphemistic name of "consultative scrutiny," and installed press-advising both at the Centre and in the Provinces. Acceptance of the advisory role of the institutions of the Conference was a basic feature making for success. Later when the Conference was prepared to advise but anxious to conceal what exactly it had advised, it ceased to carry weight with both the official and the newspaper. The strength of the Conference in the last resort derived from the strength of the editor in his newspaper office. As the financial conditions of newspapers improved—during the war years and after mostly through the non-journalistic activities of the establishment—the editor became more or less a business executive, and the Editors Conference developed into a shadow of the Newspapers Society.

The objective of the Editors Conference was to prevent executive excess. With the extraordinary situation arising out of the "Quit India" Movement launched on August 8, 1942, the Conference found difficulty in maintaining its position. It faced internal disruption when a number of newspapers, including some of its own members, suspended publication in compliance with Gandhi's suggestion when he closed down the *Harijan*. Gandhi's own speech at the A.I.C.C. on August 8 was not published in full by newspapers because, according to the official version, news agencies decided on their own to expurgate it. But the restrictions on civil disobedience news imposed by the Government following it were comprehensive. The Editors Conference objected to the censorship, the arrest and detention of working journalists and pre-censorship of messages. Claiming freedom to publish objective accounts of incidents in connection with the civil disobedience movement, the Conference called for restraint in printing matter which promoted subversive activity, conveyed suggestions or instructions for illegal acts, exaggerated police action and misrepresented prison conditions or the treatment of prisoners. These representations were accepted by the

Government as a workable basis for a press policy.

The constitutional position created an anomaly which hindered the smooth working of the agreement arrived at between the Conference and the Government. On the vacation of the Congress Ministries, the Government of India had taken over the administration in those provinces. Elsewhere, provincial ministries continued to function. The Central Government did not want to interfere with the functioning Governments, and the tendency was for civil servants in both sets of provinces to assume more control under the Home Department of the Government of India. The Congress, interested in publicity for Satyagraha news, pressed hard for the Central Government to take over in all provinces, arguing that the reality of what was happening justified it and that provincial autonomy was only an excuse. The pressure was naturally on the Editors Conference, which saw the other side and could not in reason advocate the Congress case with the Government. Bengal among the functioning Governments and the United Provinces among the Governors' provinces relied heavily on provincial autonomy. The Bengal Press Advisory Committee was formed in November 1940 but there were numerous instances when action was taken without reference to the Committee. In the United Provinces, the intervention of the President of the Editors Conference and others was necessary before the Government instituted a Press Advisory Committee, and then there was consistent failure to consult it on important issues. The Central Provinces Committee had a troubled existence. In Madras and Bombay, despite fierce encounters, the Government and the Press worked the agreement well.

Apart from exercising a conciliatory influence in the provinces, the all-India work of the Conference encountered three major crises. The first was over the censoring of Gandhi's writings before August 1942, which severely strained the Central Press Advisory Committee and caused considerable misunderstanding. The second was over the ban on the publication of Louis Fisher's articles. And the third was over Professor Bhansali's fast, reports on which were banned.

The articles by Gandhi that came before the Central Press Advisory Committee, were difficult material to handle. Considering the prestige of the writer and his willingness at the time to keep out all comment embarrassing to the Government, it would have been difficult for ordinary editors to undertake the responsibility for deleting parts. Nevertheless, the Central Advisory Committee rose equal to

the occasion. In this matter, the position of Devadas Gandhi, Gandhi's son who as managing editor of the *Hindustan Times* was both a member of the Conference and one of the Central Advisory Committee, was peculiarly embarrassing. The ban on the writings of Fisher was intended to cover the embarrassment of the Government on finding the opinion of an invited journalist whose interest in the war was undoubted going against them. But the Bhansali fast taxed the ingenuity of both the Government and the Press most. Professor Bhansali entered on a fast to call attention to events in Chimur and Ashti where military excesses against women were alleged. The Central Provinces at once imposed a ban on all news of Chimur and Ashti and all reports of Bhansali's fast. The Editors Conference declared a one-day suspension of all newspapers and adopted a resolution recommending the Press not to publish circulars from Government House, the New Year Honours List and reports of speeches of members of the Central and Provincial Governments. The Madras Government reciprocated with withdrawal of press facilities from the newspapers that had observed the directives of the Conference President and circularised its departments to withdraw advertising from them. The dispute was settled when a settlement was reached enabling Professor Bhansali to end his fast and the Government to rescind its banning orders.

The *National Herald* from the outbreak of war to August 1942 kept up a constant struggle with the U. P. Government, with the older Hindi *Sainik* of Agra running a close second. Owing to financial difficulties, the *National Herald* had come up against serious difficulties but the devotion of its staff kept it going. Its policies precluded support from Indian business. The editorial and managerial staff offered to run the concern with the support of the press workers for three months, deferring payment of their salaries for three months. The offer was accepted and the *Herald* turned the corner in the next three months. The arrangement was continued and in the next six months the arrears were wiped out and the newspaper became self-supporting. On August 19, 1940, the U.P. Government demanded the submission of all posters and headlines relating to war news to the Secretary of the Information Department. The *Herald* protested that the headlines went with the reports which came from the news agencies. A practical difficulty was the preparation of headlines in the early hours of the morning when no Government censor could be got at. Failing to obtain satisfaction,

the *National Herald* published war news without headlines. On October 25, 1940, the Government of India banned all matter obstructing the successful prosecution of the war, and the *Herald* decided to appear without editorials as it could not give publicity to the Congress viewpoint. Early in November it resumed as a result of the understanding reached in Delhi between the Government and newspaper editors. Within a fortnight, the editorials were again suspended as the U.P. Government asked for security of Rs. 6,000 in respect of three editorials. For three months, efforts to change the attitude of the Government were made but without success. Then in response to public demand the *Herald* resumed its editorials to be confronted with forfeiture of the first security against the judgment of the Press Advisory Committee and a demand for fresh securities amounting to Rs. 12,000.

In a signed editorial Jawaharlal Nehru explained the Directors' decision to pay this amount and continue publishing. He declared his aversion to paying security but said that in conformity with the views of the other Directors and leading Congressmen it had been decided to pay it and keep the *Herald* going as long as it was possible. An appeal for public support met with instant response. In 1941, the launching of the Individual Civil Disobedience movement brought fresh trouble on the *Herald*. Its editor was sentenced to six months' imprisonment with a fine of Rs. 700 for publishing a report of a lathi-charge in the Lucknow jail. Fresh restrictions were placed after the arrest of Congress leaders in August 1942 and the *Herald* ceased publication. The premises were raided by the police and locked up after some papers were seized. It was only in 1945 that the premises were returned to the *National Herald* which was able to resume publication. In all the actions taken by the U.P. Government against the *National Herald* and the *Sainik* whose history was similar, the Press Advisory Committee had been ignored or flouted, and the representations of the Editors Conference turned down. The tone of the writings was extremely provocative and very different from the prevailing writings of the time. The *National Herald* derived its prestige from its association with Jawaharlal Nehru and built its popularity on the fanatical extremism of its first Editor, K. Rama Rau.

In comparison to the *National Herald*'s all-out campaign against the Government and the U.P. Government's stern policy, the

other incidents were minor skirmishes. In February 1943, for instance, the *Janmabhumi* and its associate, *Nutan Gujerat*, incurred the wrath of the Government of Bombay. The press was declared forfeit and the security was forfeited too but the first was rescinded after negotiation and the second was returned on an appeal to the High Court. In the Central Provinces, prosecutions were launched to force editors to disclose the names of correspondents. In Sind, the *Hindu* of Karachi was penalised by not being given newsprint quotas for daring to suspend publication in August 1942. It was unusual, remarked foreign commentators, for wartime laws to be applied to suppress news of civil disturbances in a country. But it was unusual during war to have an agitation of the size and nature and intent of Congress Civil Disobedience.

Press advising served a useful purpose during the war. It staved off much of the action that repressive laws brought on in the past. It brought out a number of editors who were prepared at some sacrifice of their time to consider the problems of their fellows. It promoted a spirit of comradeship and tolerance of each other's views. It afforded opportunities for discussing common problems, by bringing editors of widely differing views together. On the other hand, it undermined the responsibility of individual editors by interposing a buffer between them and the Government. It brought the editor in close touch with the official under conditions unfavourable to the development of mutual esteem. It opened up a wide field for the seeking and obtaining of small benefits which under the deprivations of wartime loom so large in the thinking of the individual. When the Editors Conference framed a code of conduct for journalists, despite the vigilance of the veterans it formulated a rule of behaviour which had as much relevance to journalists as the Ten Commandments have to the life of ordinary men and women. Worse still, it knotted a noose round its neck and handed the other end of the rope into the hands of the bureaucrat and the politician.

CHAPTER XVII

From Nation to Party

> If papers go on expressing ideas which are not likely to raise but to drag down sections of the community, what would you advise us to do? If we are asked to intervene, then our methods, as you can easily understand, can be only those which are available to us under the law. These methods are not to our liking. I have already told you that we have taken pretty good care not to make use of them.
>
> —GOVIND BALLABH PANT

WITH the Congress entering the ministries in the provinces in 1937, we reach a new phase in the history of the Press. Independence is still ten years off; the centre has a form of dyarchy; the Indian States have yet to be integrated; what seems possible in the future is very different in 1937 from what does take place finally; and Independence itself looks a very distant achievement. But the 1935 Act definitely transfers power to Indian hands in a large measure and, if ultimate control resides in the Governor-General, the assurances given in response to the demands of the Congress before accepting office restrict interference to gross abuse of power; and the attitude of provincial ministries to the Press is definitely not a subject on which the Governor-General and the Governors expect to have to exercise their special powers. The situation undoubtedly is radically altered with the outbreak of World War II, but a contributory factor is the action taken voluntarily by the provincial Congress Ministries in vacating office. For the advantage secured and the precedents established by the Congress in the provinces governed by them are also enjoyed by the other provinces, and public opinion and party organisations are strong enough to insist on a certain minimum uniformity of rights.

There were now four major elements in India which could play a decisive role in determining policy: The British had a limited sphere outlined by the special powers of the Governor-General under the Secretary of State and the Governors under the Governor-General. These covered Defence, Foreign Affairs and the all-India Services; and with the Governor-General's special responsibilities to the Services a large field of indirect influence was opened up. The

second element was the Indian Princes whose first espousal of federation had weakened as the shaping of the Act proceeded. The Indian States were kept out of it because of the insistence of the Congress that their admission should be preceded by internal reforms democratising them to the level of the provinces. The Federation of India was thus postponed until a sufficient number of States to make up half the total population of the States and to occupy half the 104 seats in the upper house of the Federal Legislature acceded to the Federation. The third element was the Congress, and the fourth the Muslims represented by many parties. Muslim opinion generally was well content with the safeguards, the separate electorates and the weightages to accept even the entry of the Princes into the Federation. Their objections as voiced by the Muslim League at the time was at failure to concede full self-government at the Centre. But in 1935-36 Mr. Jinnah was veering round to the Congress view that the Federation should be confined to British India.

The Congress and the Muslims joined forces in the Central Legislature to press for the establishment of full responsible government in British India alone. This combination lasted throughout the session forcing the Governor-General to use his special powers to certify fourteen bills, including the Trade Agreement between Britain and India, the Budget for 1934-35 and the Budget for 1935-36 and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

The provincial elections took place in 1937 resulting in a Congress majority in five provinces—Madras 159 seats out of 215; the United Provinces 134 out of 228 ; the Central Provinces 70 out of 112; Bihar 95 out of 152; and Orissa 36 out of 60. In Bengal, the Congress won 60 seats out of 250, divided between Congress 43, and the Scheduled Castes, Labour and the Tippera Krishak Party together 17; Independent Muslims won 41 seats, Muslim Leaguers 40, Praja Party 35, Europeans 25, Independent Hindus 14 and the Independent Scheduled Castes 23.

The Ministry of A. K. Fazlul Huq in Bengal was a coalition of the Muslim League, the Praja Party, the Independent Hindus and Scheduled Caste members. Mr. Fazlul Huq remained Chief Minister through many vicissitudes while his Ministry changed from a balanced inter-communal ministry to a communal one. In the Punjab, Sikandar Hyat Khan headed the National Unionist Party with 96 seats out of 175, and supported by the Khalsa Nationalist

Sikhs who held 15 seats. Though the pressures of communal disputes imported from outside the provinces created difficulties, Sikandar Hyat Khan held his government until his death in 1942. In Assam and Sind, the Congress over a large period of the years before the outbreak of war was able to exercise an indirect control over the Government; a multiplicity of parties involved all ministry-making in considerable office-peddling. Orissa in a class by itself started among the Congress provinces and, more than a year after the resignation of Congress ministries in October-November 1939, emerged as a non-Congress coalition government.

In all provinces from 1937 to 1939 where popular governments functioned, the Press presented problems but they were more intricate in the non-Congress provinces. In Bengal, the *Hindustan Standard* and the *Jugantar* appeared in 1937. In 1939, the Krishak Proja Party launched the *Krishak* and Makhan Lal Sen started the *Bharat*. In 1941, Fazlul Huq promoted the *Navayug*. Attempts were made by the Government to subsidise a daily but they were strongly opposed, and were abandoned. In the United Provinces, where the opposition of Congressmen to the Congress Ministry was as strong as that of any opposition party could be, the *National Herald*, sponsored by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, came into being in 1938. In the Punjab, a number of Urdu publications were sponsored by the Muslims and Sikhs to propagate their causes. In the Congress provinces, the return of securities and removal of restrictions on nationalist newspapers restored a healthy atmosphere. In Bombay the *Free Press Journal* did not secure the return of Rs. 20,000 because it had closed down in 1935 and the Government did not recognise the claim of its owner when Sadanand revived it in 1937. Further, the action of the Home Minister, Mr. K. M. Munshi, in exerting pressure against a newspaper and his attempts to silence condemnation in the Bombay Union of Journalists came in for fierce criticism.

There was not a strong Muslim Press to represent the feelings of the League and, though in Bombay a number of Urdu newspapers were launched, few of them were prepared to go the whole way with extremists. The Congress policy had been defined—there was to be no alliance or coalition between the Congress and parties which did not accept the Congress line, in the provincial legislatures. It was a policy that worked for a while in Sind; elsewhere it prevented the building up of stable political conditions. In Bengal and

the Punjab, the pressure from the Congress and the failure of Congress politicians to assess the countervailing pressure of the Muslim League drove the Ministries into the League camp. In the Congress provinces, the firm grasp on the helm led the Congress to ignore the League, and it was in these provinces that the Muslim League was really strong. By 1938, the League was talking of the Governments of the non-Congress provinces as Muslim League ministries and within two years there was pressure to ensure that no talks would be had by their Chief Ministers with the Congress Party without the previous consent of the Central Party. From this the situation developed into a stalemate following the outbreak of World War II with the Viceroy insisting on an understanding being reached between Gandhi and Jinnah. The resignation of the Congress Ministries left the party with no strength except the weapon of Civil Disobedience and that became hazardous under the combined pressure of government authority and communal counter-agitation.

The outbreak of the war was preceded by intensified international activity. The years 1932-39 were full of incident, and the Indian National Congress contained a number of young members who were keenly moved by happenings on the world stage. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was prominent among them, and Gandhi often spoke of him as his expert on foreign affairs. On several occasions between 1934 and 1939 the Congress had, under the influence of Nehru, expressed its views on China, on Abyssinia, on Spain and on the relations between the Fascist nations and the Democracies. While the Government of India under the aegis of the British Conservative Party was suspicious of the Communists, the trend of Indian opinion favoured them and the "foreign section" of the Congress roundly condemned the democracies for weakness towards the Fascists. There was considerable sympathy for Abyssinia, Republican Spain, Kuomintang China and Czechoslovakia. The spread of violence the world over had diluted the feeling for non-violence.

The declaration of war by Britain in September 1939 would have created problems for the Congress in this prevailing atmosphere. But Lord Linlithgow's committal of India to the war without previous consultation with Indian leaders, the failure to secure a vote of the Legislative Assembly and the marked difference from the procedure followed in the Dominions immediately brought on a situation which masked these problems. The instant reply of the Congress

was to withdraw from parliamentary activities, and the next three years were involved in trying to reach a settlement for the resumption of office in the provinces. Beginning with the demand for extending responsible government at the Centre, it developed rapidly into a prolonged controversy with the Muslim League over the sharing of power. Helped by Linlithgow's insistence that Congress-League coalitions should function all over India, it gave the Muslim League a lever which it fully used. Mr. Jinnah had celebrated the voluntary vacation of Congress ministries as deliverance day and had promised that the past would not return again. The League had utilised its strength in the Congress provinces to frame indictments of Congress rule which, while they contained distortions and misrepresentations, fed the fire of communalism. As the Congress rejected mounting Muslim League claims of parity, the League demand settled on partition.

As the war proceeded in its early stages with little fear of a serious conflict and less danger of the democracies suffering a defeat, the Congress openly revealed a split in its leadership. Gandhi pressed for the right of preaching non-participation among civilians as a pacifist; Nehru asked for the right of participation as a democracy among other democracies; Vallabhbhai Patel was concerned more with internal conditions in India. All of them had their following and the subject was discussed in the Congress and openly in the Press. The Liberals who, equally with the Congress, felt the loss of status in the neglect of previous consultation, favoured cooperation; the Hindu Mahasabha advocated using the war to secure maximum experience; the Muslim League insisted on recognition of the importance of the Muslim community; the Princes, resisting reforms to democratise their own governments, offered cooperation without terms; and the business community, vulnerable to pressure from the Government, contributed its share—emotionally unmoved by the course of events it used the occasion to advance itself. Under the pressures of Indian politics, there was not a single important section in India which pursued an idealistic policy.

The British Government of India had exerted itself from the outset of the war to secure Indian cooperation without diminishing its own position; as the war progressed and reverses and extensions of the field of hostilities intensified the situation, various efforts were made to meet the Congress without alienating the dissentients. But

the prospect of securing a united India behind the British receded, and Gandhi's position in the Congress made Congress cooperation alone of doubtful value in the war. Gandhi—even when the question of participation in the war narrowed down to defending India against foreign invasion—reverted to an extreme pacifist position. (He had observed on the overthrow of Poland that Poland's violence was to be regarded as virtual non-violence.) Within the Congress itself, there was a strong opinion which favoured taking up arms to resist invasion but it did not seem strong enough to stand by itself long. And without concessions from the British, it was wanting in confidence so far as putting a policy through effectively went.

Resort to civil disobedience was in the circumstances inevitable and it was only a question of when the movement would be launched. In 1939, the Congress called for preparations; Gandhi had no clear programme of action before him, and the leaders were bewildered by the emphasis on communal questions that had sprung up. Gandhi himself, well aware of the impatience of younger Congressmen for launching a movement, warned repeatedly that unauthorised campaigns were not to be tolerated. He dwelt on the difficulties of negotiating for the Congress with other parties as only the Congress was truly representative. He spoke in terms of fight and referred to himself as their General. He referred to the numbers who had joined the Congress since it had taken office and declared that they had harmed it. Individual Civil Disobedience was started in 1940, which developed into representative civil disobedience, Satyagraha lists and Satyagraha of Congress members by gradual stages—the process beginning with the arrest of Vinoba Bhave in October and taking a full year to reach the last stage. It was a long waiting period for the Congress as a whole and it resulted in the triumph of non-cooperation over pacifism. And on August 8, 1942, the "Quit India" movement was launched. The ensuing deadlock held the field till 1944, through the remaining viceroyalty of Linlithgow and the first two years of Lord Wavell's viceroyalty—an eventful two years in which the Muslim League fixed its hold on the non-Congress provinces and gained power in the North-West Frontier Province. In 1944 began the protracted negotiations which ended in the partition of India.

These were eventful years for the Press. On the outbreak of the

Second World War, the Defence of India Act was passed, which among other matters provided for censorship of news relating to certain subjects, the omission of information useful to the enemy, and controlled the publication of prejudicial reports. The Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society, an association of newspaper proprietors, was formed to look after the business interests of the Press in 1939 and a year later on the launching of Satyagraha by Gandhi the All India Newspapers Editors Conference came into being. This organisation owed its existence to the efforts of the Managing Directors who were members of the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society, which gave permanence to a Delhi conference of editors convened in 1940 to protest against the tightening of the Press laws consequent on the movement. The laws required the registration of district correspondents, and prohibited the publication of the civil disobedience news and other matters that might affect the war effort. As a result of negotiations with the Government rendered possible by the restraint exercised over the rest by the members of the Eastern and Indian Newspapers Society, an agreement was arrived at by which consultative scrutiny as the method of pre-censorship was accepted, committees of editors were planned both at the Centre and in the provinces to sit with the Government to consider breaches of the law and award penalties, and a convention arrived at about the Government considering the views of editors in all matters affecting the Press. Later there was developed a code of conduct, formally drawn up in several sections, to guide the individual editor in the discharge of his responsibility.

The arrangement worked not without difficulty and considerable second thoughts on the part of the more extremist editors. But it owed its success, where it did succeed, to the desire of the Government not to alienate too large a section of opinion and the anxiety of the established newspapers not to suffer drastic action at the hands of an irresponsible executive. It brought together the Government and the Press in close personal contact, and it was availed of by some editors to secure benefits which in the hardships of the war years were important. In certain provinces it degenerated into irresponsibility as the advisory committees shrunk from recommending strong action, or worse still, sought to shroud their advice in secrecy. But it was serviceable enough to be retained in the provinces where they had functioned smoothly, after national

independence had been attained. And it left a deep enough impression to make Indian representatives at international press conferences commend its adoption by other nationals—to the disquiet of newspaper delegates from the democracies.

There were two striking elements at the respresentative newspaper editors conference at Delhi in 1940 which need mention. A section of the Congress newspapers headed by Gandhi's Secretary, Mahadev Desai, pressed for special exemption to Gandhi owing to his message of non-violence and his insistence on non-embarrassment. Other editors strongly resisted this and favoured a general policy towards all newspapers without special treatment to any. They won because in the last analysis even the Congress editors saw the logic of it and were more anxious to secure protection as they were more likely to invite action. The second factor that was discovered, was the negotiations conducted by Mahadev Desai with the officials of the Home Department for creating favourable conditions for reviving Gandhi's *Harijan*—and this when the conference was being pressed to take up the case. This weakness—the eagerness to work through friends at court at the very time of agitating publicly in an association for the acceptance of a general principle—has presented itself repeatedly in the history of Indian journalism, and makes for the instability of all organisational work.

Between 1930 and 1942, the machinery for repression had gathered strength and the newspapers began to appreciate the value of united action before executive action took effect. In 1930, the Press Ordinance had netted securities to a total of Rs. 2,40,000 and struck at 131 newspapers in six months. About 450 news-papers failed because they could not put up the deposit demanded in 1935, 72 newspapers were penalised and a sum of over Rs. 100,000 was demanded. Only 15 newspapers paid up. In World War II, in the month of August 1942, 92 journals were suppressed. The All India Newspapers Editors Conference, despite being accused of acting as the agent of the Government, performed a useful function in keeping the executive under check, a process which was helped by the Government's desire not to press matters to a logical conclusion. In 1942, a group of nationalist newspapers acting independently of the Editors Conference of which they were members, suspended publication and charged the Conference with misleading the country. But when the annual conference met in

Bombay that October, the newspapers arrived at a compromise which facilitated their reappearance.

Uttar Pradesh where the *National Herald* under the editorship of K. Rama Rau was the spearhead of Congress extremism, resisted the formation of a press advisory committee and the Government there needed considerable persuasion before it would yield. In the other provinces generally, it was accepted that the system would have a moderating influence on both the Government and the Press. The greatest strain was felt by the Central Press Advisory Committee which had to scrutinise Gandhi's articles in the revived *Harijan*, and Devdas Gandhi of the *Hindustan Times* felt it most acutely being Gandhi's son. But he carried out his work as a member of the Committee and, if the President of Editors Conference, Kasturi Srinivasan, had to use considerable tact in smoothing things over, the Committee functioned effectively. In Bombay and Madras, the practice of consulting the Conference on all matters affecting the Press grew under the system, and there was in general no major crisis. In the Central Provinces, in Bengal and in Sind trouble broke out from the very start. The arrangement for all the difficulties it faced served to establish a link between the Government and nationalist opinion at a time when all other links were snapped, provided an opportunity for the whole Press of India to meet together in consultation and to function regularly as one, and afforded the opportunity for the Press to grow into the Fourth Estate in India as it had in other democracies.

The Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society which functioned as the upper house of the Press, performed a useful function in the less spectacular field of management. It came to public notice when, on the outbreak of war and the cutting off of newsprint supplies, the Government of India assumed control of all available paper supplies and distributed them on quotas based on past consumption. The Society was able to secure an increase of supplies to the Press from 10 per cent of available stocks to 30 percent. On the positive side, it joined with the advertising agencies in establishing the practice of recognising bona fide agencies, regularising advertising commissions, and improving relations between publisher and advertiser. Its efforts in these directions led in 1948, almost ten years after its inception, to the formation of the Audit Bureau of Circulation whose objective is to arrive at and certify the real net sales of their newspaper members. It is a cooperative effort, with publi-

shers, advertisers and advertising agencies equally represented in its management. Again in 1948, the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society was instrumental in forming the Press Trust of India, a newspaper agency owned by the leading newspapers which took over Reuter's world service and the Associated Press' internal service under an agreement.

An association performing a similar function for the Indian language Press was the Indian Languages Newspapers Association founded in 1941 by Amritlal Seth and A. R. Bhatt. A feature of the Association was its interest in the smaller newspapers which has been shown in its successful agitation for a price-page schedule to control competition.

Associations of journalists have existed in Bombay and Calcutta since the twenties. But in 1951, the All-India Federation of Working Journalists came into being, and under its influence the older associations became trade unions and several new unions all over the country were formed. With the Bombay Union of Journalists evolving out of the old Bombay Journalists Association, a new organisation, the Press Guild of India, came into being to meet the non-union needs of journalists.

Reference has been made to the Press Trust of India taking over the Associated Press and Reuter. In 1937, the United Press of India was launched by B. Sen-Gupta who had worked with the Free Press of India News Agency which closed down in 1935. The United Press had great difficulty in functioning and it was severely handicapped in the war years for want of teleprinter channels. In 1948, it was given teleprinter facilities and it linked up with *Agence France* in 1951 to give foreign coverage in its service. The Associated Press of America and the United Press of America entered India during the war years beginning as associates of Indian newspapers, and in the Press Trust of India's negotiations with Reuter their presence was a valuable factor on the Indian side. When the Press Trust concluded its agreement, the decision of the Government to give teleprinter circuits to Indian agencies and newspapers prevented their continued functioning in India. The Associated Press of America and then the United Press of America have in turn tied up with the *Times of India* which established a news bureau.

The earlier Satyagraha movements had drawn foreign correspondents to India. But with the Cripps Mission, interest had

grown. The Mission itself was preceded by American and Chinese interest in India's future and their sympathy with the demand for Indian Independence. Subhas Bose's escape to Germany in 1941, soon after Gandhi had turned down his request to be chosen for individual Satyagraha, had all the elements of surprise. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour had quickened interest in India. The agencies of America had first sent out correspondents. They were followed by press representatives and columnists. President Roosevelt's personal representatives, Col. Johnson and William Philips, added to American interest. British correspondents too arrived at Delhi to establish themselves near the centre of Asian events.

Government publicity too was stepped up in the war years. The Director of Public Information, according to Sir Stanley Reed's recommendation in 1918, was to have been a journalist but two of the Directors had been educationists, Dr. Rushbrook Williams and J. Coatman. Ian Stephens who took up the post in the thirties, had introduced bias in the publication, *India in 1934*. A reorganisation of the department was effected in 1935 and Josselyn Hennessy, a correspondent of British newspapers and news agencies on the Continent, was appointed Principal Information Officer. In 1938, J. Natarajan of the *Pioneer* became his Deputy. In 1939 when World War II broke out, the office of Chief Censor was created and Desmond Young of the *Pioneer* was appointed first Chief Censor and later Chief Press Advisor. An Inter-Services Public Relations Directorate was formed with Ivor Jehu of the *Times of India* as the head; P. J. Griffiths, retired I.C.S., Secretary of the Indian Tea Association, was taken on as Publicity Advisor to the Government of India; the National War Front with the Directorate of Counter-Propaganda functioned as the field publicity organisation, and a Films Division was instituted. The Publications Division was reorganised. Though in World War II the Government had the benefit of several advertising agencies on whom they could freely draw, a number of Englishmen were drawn in from journalism and business.

Of foreign information offices, the British Ministry of Information was the first. It became the British Information Service after the war. The United States Office of War Information stepped in after Pearl Harbour, and in the early stage came into conflict with representatives of the American news agencies over the content of their releases. The United States Information Service grew

after the war out of the Office of War Information. The Tass Agency of Soviet Russia came in during the war on a small scale but developed into a combined government publicity department and news agency afterwards. These three feed the Indian Press with regular material in bulletins, pamphlets, photographs and articles. On a smaller scale, Communist China, Yugoslavia, Israel and Pakistan perform similar functions.

While these government publicity offices keep up a regular flow of material, the United States Information Service runs libraries in the principal towns and offers newspapers and selection of articles in the American Press for exclusive reproduction in India. For the United Kingdom, a similar service is performed by the non-official British Council. Few newspapers, however, avail themselves of the offer to clear copyright because for one thing Indian newspapers are not bothered about copyright laws and for another the volume of routine releases is so large that most editors do not look beyond them for foreign material.

A connected development has been the forming of the Advertising Agencies Association of India in 1945 and the Indian Society of Advertisers in 1952, the first aiming at raising the standard of the agencies and the second seeking to improve the advertising habits of the advertisers themselves. The question has already been handled at the other end by the newspapers who, despite the efforts of the powerful Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society, have not been able to effect a complete reform. The growth of the two associations ought, no doubt, to help in an all-sided effort to improve the advertising side of the Press.

So far as the legal position goes, the position of the Press after Independence has been fairly untrammelled. The Muslim League Press which had come up during the ten previous years, was not particularly strong. Mostly weekly journals, they had created difficulties for the Congress Government. The *Dawn* of Delhi which commenced as a weekly in the thirties to espouse the League cause, was converted into a daily under Mr. Jinnah's influence with Pothan Joseph as the editor. With Independence attended by Partition, they were much weakened, and many of them went over to re-establish themselves in Pakistan. The British daily Press after the transfer of power passed into Indian hands with the

single exception of the *Statesman*—the *Times of India* had retained its English personnel both on the editorial and managerial sides after passing into the hands of Ramakrishna Dalmia in 1946. The *Capital* as the journal of the British business community in Calcutta and *Commerce* representing the Bombay Chamber of Commerce continue to function. Thus the Press in India started the new era with the best of feelings towards the national government. The attitude of the Indian Press as a whole was cooperative and the Constitution of India adopted in November 1949 guaranteed to all citizens the right of free speech and expression. Little heed was paid to the saving clause which, enumerating the legislative restrictions and limiting by definition the intervening authority of the Government, read:

> Nothing in sub-clause (*a*) of clause (1) of this section shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court, or any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the State.

But as a number of High Court and Supreme Court decisions around 1950-51 went against the Government and editors who wrote provocative articles were left free on the ground that undermining public order was different from undermining the security of the State, the Government of India amended the clause to read:

> Nothing in sub-clause (*a*) of clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency, morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.

The amending of the Constitution was widely opposed by the Press both before and after it was carried out by the Congress Government. The reference to friendly States particularly was objected to on the ground that, if action was to be taken only on representation of a foreign Government, the representation would

only come from the non-democratic States which did not understand the workings of a free Press; that, if it was to be taken on its own initiative by the Government of India, it may possibly be in suppression of criticisms of India's foreign policy. Other provisions were attacked on the ground that they vested too much power in the Government. The Press registered its objection, some newspapers suspended publication, and a few more published over their editorials a catch-line of protest drafted by the Editors Conference. Later in the year, the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act provoked greater opposition, and controversy only subsided with announcement in October 1952 of the Press Commission to report comprehensively on questions affecting the Press.

The legal position, however, did not exhaust all matters in dispute between the Government and the Press. In 1952-53, the subject of government advertising came into prominence because the *Times of India* was victimised; for expressing its disagreement with the Bombay Government and persistently attacking it, it was deprived of government advertising. The declared official policy of not using its advertisements for political purposes which the British Government of India had affirmed in 1940 was reversed; and circulation and readership were set aside. The Press Commission found that the distribution of advertising was looked on as a matter of patronage but, not seeing a remedy, it presented the matter euphemistically by saying that the placing of advertisement needed careful scrutiny. In 1959, the proposal to channel all government advertising, central and state, through a government department was strongly criticised by a section of the Press and instances of pressure to secure support were cited. Another sphere of influence is in the matter of job printing which has assumed large proportions.

The terms of reference of the Press Commission were very wide, covering the state of the Press, the working conditions of journalists and the possibility of manufacturing newsprint. The report which appeared in 1954, made far-reaching recommendations, the implementation of which was taken on hand. Recommendations about the remuneration of journalists have led to protracted proceedings. Though designed to resolve the problems of the Press, the Report has to a large extent accentuated them. The recognition of journalists as industrial workers has, while conferring certain benefits, given rise to a variety of new conflicts.

CHAPTER XVIII

Tight Rope Walking

> The only journalist the bureaucracy has any use for is the sycophantic fugleman of its own brave deeds and shining virtues.
>
> —PATRICK LOVETT

THE features of the Second World War period were smaller circulations and smaller newspapers, very few new ventures and controlled news. In all government orders prohibiting publication of a particular kind of news, three news agencies were named with almost religious and ritualistic impartiality—the Associated Press of India, the United Press of India and the Orient Press. The first was associated with Reuter and suffered from the disability of being a semi-official agency; the United Press had grown out of the Free Press of India News Agency and had considerable Congress support in Bengal; the Orient Press was a small venture which had come into existence to serve Muslim League interests. In 1937, the *Star of India* (Calcutta) was the only English daily newspaper supporting the Muslim League; there were a small number of weeklies, fortnightly journals and monthlies and soon the *Dawn* was launched as an English weekly in Delhi to become a powerful Muslim League daily newspaper edited by Pothan Joseph and devoted to the championing of Mr. Jinnah's views. In 1936, the *Sunday Standard* was started in Bombay and in 1940 the *Morning Standard* was launched as its daily associate; it became the *National Standard* in 1946 and was merged in 1953 with the *Indian Express*. In 1937 too, M. N. Roy started the weekly *Independent India* to propagate his political and economic views. In 1938, the *Bharat Jyoti* appeared as the Sunday paper of the *Free Press Journal*, introducing the novel feature of editorial fables which attained considerable popularity. From 1930, the *Statesman* had issued a Delhi edition and round 1937 it had prospects of establishing itself as Delhi's leading English daily newspaper. In 1936, the *Hindustan* issued from Delhi as the Hindi associate of the *Hindustan Times*. In 1930, the *Bombay Sentinel* with Horniman as editor had been started as an evening paper, and, though owned by the Cama family, it followed a different policy from that of its associate the *Bombay Chronicle*. During

the war, it was banned by the Bombay Government and, while its case was taken up by the Press Advisory Committee, the proprietor secured the lifting of the ban by his personal intervention.

Despite the restrictions of the war years, a number of newspapers came into existence, the better known being the *Blitz* (Bombay) 1941, *Kalki* (Madras, Tamil weekly) 1941, *Vande Mataram* (Bombay, Gujerati Daily) 1941, *People's War* (Bombay) 1942 as the organ of the Communist Party, and *Thanthi* (Madras, Madurai and Tiruchi—Tamil) 1942. The Government followed a liberal policy, encouraging journals and newspapers which tended to support the war. Several Muslim journals made their appearance, their claims to newsprint quotas at a time of stringency being the scarcity of Muslim newspapers. Mr. Jinnah planned for a Muslim League daily English newspaper to be launched on a big scale but scarcity of funds and lack of response held up the scheme. Technical journalism, hitherto confined to the textile industry, began from the middle thirties to embrace other industries. Film journals provided lighter material for the public. The war made a difference to the advertising agencies which, giving their full cooperation to the prosecution of the war, lent their services to the Government to help campaigns and promote national causes. In the process, the direction of publicity and propaganda to the Indian public began to receive considerable attention. Before the war, very little attempt had been made to sell in an Indian market. Advertisements generally advocated imported goods to a public which in its own way accepted Western customs and was presumed to have Western tastes. Cigarettes were the main commodity which was widely advertised and the cheaper brands were pushed at village fairs. Soap had an urban market and, along with well-known British brands, the advertising of Indian manufactures began to make their appearance. By and large newspapers secured advertising very much as insurance agents sold policies by personal canvassing. In the middle thirties, several newspapers were somewhat distressed by advertising "consultants" claiming commission on matter long appearing as direct business from advertisers. In the next ten years the Second World War and the publicity consciousness of the Government of India brought about a recognition of the importance of established advertising agencies for sustained and well-thought out campaigns. It also achieved in a small way the acceptance of the importance of the Indian language newspapers.

The Press as a whole benefited financially during the war. The compulsion felt by the English-owned Press to limit its circulation, coupled with the spread of the reading habit and the quickened interest in events, afforded opportunities to the Indian Press. Moreover, it was possible for Indian proprietors to inflate their circulations more easily than for their British counterparts, and available newsprint commanded high prices. At the same time, several newspapers began to make profits and the limitations on the profits that could be kept induced many proprietors to pay better remunerations—either to their staff or to outside contributors. Newspaper production had ceased to be a business that could be lightly undertaken; the days when the Ghose brothers could begin a journalistic career with Rs. 30 were gone. The *National Herald* was starved of funds because Indian business held back; the *Hindustan Times* with funds at its disposal could launch a Hindi newspaper; and Sadanand depended on the backing of Indian business to establish his chain of newspapers throughout India, and failed when the support was withdrawn. During the war years, the independent newspapers, mostly weeklies and monthlies which had no press of their own, suffered grievously. The *Indian Social Reformer* at one stage found it necessary to change presses four times in six months.

As an answer to restrictions on publishing certain matter, a form of communication arose which had considerable importance —the handwritten or cyclostyled unregistered news-sheet. Gandhi as early as 1919 had remarked on the possibilities of written newspapers which "need not occupy more than one side of half a foolscap." He felt that these broadsheets issued from every Satyagraha centre would have more effect than newspapers which contained much padding. He had also mentioned that with a strict newspaper law articles written in the registered newspapers tended to carry a double meaning. He concluded from this that only in unauthorised news-sheets could a Satyagrahi tell the truth and nothing but the truth. It had the advantage of not needing large finance and Gandhi was insistent that Satyagrahis must be as independent of finance as possible. Commending these newspapers, as he called them, as a potential power for the "transmission of pure ideas in a concise manner," he reminded his public of the tradition in India of "imparting instruction by oral teaching." He advocated acceptance of responsibility for these sheets, the writer to place his name

and address on every copy. There had been little opportunity to prepare for this kind of agitation because the Government had not shown any inclination to suppress publication of Satyagraha news. Communist literature had come under a ban between 1926 and 1939 and there had been some dissemination of copied literature secretly. But it was not on a considerable scale.

With war on the one hand and civil disobedience on the other, the Government came down on publication of news and comment, finding it difficult as was natural to distinguish between matter prejudicial to the war effort and matter describing the progress of a movement professedly intended to dissuade participation in war. When civil disobedience developed in August 1942 into a movement for driving out the British and establishing a free field for the interplay of Indian parties, the British Government in England and the Government of India were unable to distinguish between obstruction to the war effort, assistance to the enemy and internal politics, which seemed even to some Congressmen to be all mixed up. Gandhi and influential members of the Congress Working Committee who had from the outset of the war drifted apart owing to inability to place pacifism above nationalism, came together on the decision to launch the "Quit India" movement. Subhas Bose, who had a following of his own, had escaped to the enemy and was advocating a struggle against Britain with the aid of Britain's enemies. There was enough in the situation to warrant serious apprehension on the part of those responsible for the administration of India without taking the growing strength of the Muslim League into account. Between Gandhi, who considered his speech on August 8, 1942 as a notice to the Government to be followed by negotiations for a transfer of power and the setting up of a constituent assembly, and the rest of the Working Committee who wanted direct action, there was a wide gulf—and the Government accepted the decision as that of the Working Committee.

With the wholesale arrests of the leaders and their removal from the scene, the field was opened for illegal publicity. There was a secretly operated radio which functioned for a time; there were unauthorised news-sheets of varying views; and there were the *prabhat pheries* which conveyed oral information. No press was available for printing the broadsheets, and most of them appeared at odd intervals, from many places and without disclosing their authorship. The Congress itself repudiated responsi-

bility, and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in his *History* is content to say that bereft of its leaders and left to make its own way the movement followed the pattern of underground movements in the West. Congress Socialists were prominent in the movement but other Congressmen were not lacking in zeal. Apart from the effusions of the secret instigators, Kishorelal Mashruwala who edited the *Harijan* after Gandhi's incarceration and was reputed to be Gandhi's leading disciple in non-violence and pacifism, gave his view that damage to property if unaccompanied by injury to person constituted non-violent activity. It was an opinion which had considerable effect on Congress thinking, until it was repudiated by Gandhi himself much later. It was essential, however, for maintaining some degree of continuity to resort to secrecy, and great ingenuity was exercised to avoid detection by the police. Instructions about conducting the movement were given through these circulars which appeared from different centres. As it was illegal even to be found in possession of "prejudicial" documents, there was considerable scope for hasty arrests and appeals to the courts. The law of contempt too raised a number of issues which had to be straightened out in law courts.

Before the moves for constitutional change began, the main interest was in the legal points of the Defence of India Rules which were a source of contention between the executive and the judiciary. Several of these arose over matters affecting the Press. Devadas Gandhi was hauled up for contravening the order of the Delhi Provincial Government forbidding publication of any material concerning the mass movement launched by the Congress or the measures taken by the Government to deal with it. The *Hindustan Times* had covered the demonstrations and acts of violence that followed the arrests. But the Additional District Magistrate acquitted Devadas Gandhi on the ground that Gandhi had put forward no programme of action and it was not possible to contend that the demonstrations were part of the movement. This was followed by contempt proceedings against Devadas Gandhi for publishing a report to the effect that a judge was canvasing subscriptions for the War Fund and, after convicting certain accused in a case, had acquitted them on their contributing to the Fund. Devadas was sentenced by the Allahabad High Court to a fine of Rs. 1,000 or, in default, to one month's imprisonment. He appealed to the Privy Council and the convictions were quashed.

The *Tribune* of Lahore published press comments from other newspapers on the arrest of its reporter. The fact that a *habeas corpus* petition was to be filed provoked the Lahore administration to haul the Editor and Publisher up for contempt. The Lahore High Court dismissed the case on the ground that the Editor and Publisher did not know of the application for *habeas corpus* and therefore not even technical contempt had been committed. The Chief Justice went on to elucidate the law of contempt by saying:

> The publication of matter which tends or is calculated to interfere with the due course of justice, or to prejudice the minds of people against a party may amount to contempt, but before a Court will take notice of such publication, the Court must be satisfied that the matter published tended substantially to interfere with the due course of justice, or was calculated substantially to create prejudice in the public mind. The court will not take action where the offending matter amounts to what is sometimes referred to as technical contempt. It must be remembered that contempt proceedings are a summary and very arbitrary method of dealing with an offence. That being so, contempt proceedings should be sparingly instituted and a person should not be convicted unless his conviction is essential in the interests of justice.

Mr. Horniman raised the point that the Allahabad High Court had no jurisdiction over an Editor in Bombay when it issued a bailable warrant of arrest directing him to appear before it. It was upheld by the Bombay High Court which maintained that the High Court of one province had no power to take notice of contempt of court of another High Court.

Other judgments ruled against security demands on presses in Poona and Nagpur, established that the possession of prejudicial documents by an editor amounted to possession "with lawful authority" (Allahabad and Benares), acquitted the *Janmabhumi* in Bombay for printing a minister's letter explaining why he resigned on the ground that it was not prejudicial to the war effort and a bookseller for stocking copies of a booklet containing the letter in Allahabad, and pulled up District Magistrates for refusing to carry out the High Court's order to release detenus (Patna) or for having inflated ideas of their dignity. Judicial proceedings

afford a picture of conditions during the war which otherwise would not be available as the Press of its own accord kept doubtful matters out of print. The exercise of pressure by magistrates to secure contributions to the war fund is repeatedly exposed; the anxiety of the executive to use the Defence of India Act to suppress criticism of their excesses is disclosed all over India; attempts to interfere with the judiciary raise their head every now and then. To circumvent the judiciary, the Government promulgated the Special Courts Ordinance in August 1942, by which special courts were instituted to try offences, the executive being left to determine what offenders were to be brought before them. The Calcutta High Court declared the Ordinance illegal and the Federal Court upheld this verdict, resulting in the abolition of the Special Courts. The Defence of India Rule 26, under which a number of leading Congressmen was detained without trial, was also condemned and had to be reinforced by Ordinance. Even the Ordinance was challenged. The Rule, in fact, would not have been questioned but for the blatant manner in which it was exploited to detain individuals whom the ordinary courts had discharged. For writing two editorials on the food situation in Bengal, the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* was served with an order imposing pre-censorship of editorials and the Bengal Press was forbidden to comment on the order.

Politics obtruded in one instance rather flagrantly on judicial proceedings when a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court heard the appeal of the Police Superintendent of Murshidabad against his conviction for assaulting a pleader. In the course of the proceedings, the Bench called for certain communications that had been made by the Bengal Chief Minister, A. K. Fazlul Huq, to the trying magistrate in the Jaigunj rice looting case. Mr. Huq conveyed the impression to the magistrate that the police officer was given to fabricating evidence and that his acts would be the subject of a departmental inquiry. Severe strictures on the Chief Minister were passed by the Chief Justice who described him as a man unfit for public office. This drew the rejoinder from Mr. Huq that:

> The consideration of my fitness does not lie in the hands of judges or magistrates but of the Almighty dispenser of events. I know full well that fitness is not a criterion of success in life.

> I have known people not fit to be a clerk in the service occupying the highest office under the Crown. Very often it is the unfit rather than the fit who succeeded in winning the prizes of life.

The police superintendent saw the conviction and fine of Rs. 200 imposed on him set aside on the ground that the sanction of the Bengal Government had not been obtained for his prosecution.

The harshness of the rules, the excesses of the executive, the attempt to get over the laws of the land and the devious ways in which the civil and criminal laws were sought to be used to augment war contributions created a general revulsion of feeling in the judiciary. The Federal Court's rejection of the special laws as ultra vires of the Viceroy's powers was overruled by the Privy Council but the rejection had the salutary effect of securing the abolition of the Special Courts and of introducing greater care in the exercise of power. The abstention of accused in the earlier movements from putting up a defence had rendered the Government and its civilian and police personnel careless in instituting cases. The resort to prosecution on a vague feeling of irritation at criticism was a safe move so long as the act was not questioned in court. The strong feelings roused in the British first by the refusal of the Congress to assist the war effort and then by the launching of a movement aimed at their removal made them indifferent to the methods adopted and tolerant of the excesses of officials who after all were supporting the Government. The independence of the judiciary, however, was asserted, and the lower courts were held to the line by the vigilance and firmness of the Federal Court and the High Courts. The Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, when he criticised Fazlul Huq for trying to tamper with the administration of justice, also denounced the magistrate and recommended his transfer to "some other branch of the public service where plasticity might possibly be an advantage and not a danger to the community."

With the end of the Second World War, easier conditions set in in India, the British Government was better able to apply its mind to the political problem and, while discussions proceeded for a settlement, the Working Committee of the Congress was released from jail and the Congress took up office again in the Provinces in March

1946 with an interim Government at the Centre six months later. Within the framework of the 1935 Act, there had been changes increasing the number of members of the Viceroy's Executive Council —in 1939, there had been three British members and three Indians, apart from the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief; in July 1941, when the first expansion took place, the three Indian members had their portfolios distributed between eight and the Executive Councillors were, apart from the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, eleven; in July 1942, a further expansion took the number to thirteen without the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, and representation was given to British business interests in India, to the Sikhs and the depressed classes. The Home and Finance portfolios were in British hands—Sir Reginald Maxwell and Sir Jeremy Raisman being the incumbents. The communal division between Hindus and Muslims had been in 1939, Hindus 2, Muslims 1; in 1941, Hindus 4, Muslims 1, Parsi 1; in 1942, Hindus 5, Muslims 3, Parsi 1, Scheduled Castes 1, Sikhs 1, British 1. Though the Indian members were not uninfluenced by the forces at play around them, none of them represented the extreme elements of their communities, and of the Muslim members, it may be said that they had given practical evidence of their resistance to Muslim League pressure. Jinnah himself had little support before 1942. But from 1939,—he himself has expressed surprise—Linlithgow "all of a sudden promoted him and gave him a place side by side with Gandhi."

The Congress had the Press but there was considerable hardening towards the policies it was pursuing. The Civil Disobedience movement in its first individual form had been criticised as futile and more productive of annoyance and unnecessary provocation than of good. There had been a great deal of pressure to end it—some inspired by leaders of the Congress. The mass movement was anybody's movement, Gandhi and the Working Committee having been put away before they could leave any directions. Under the restrictions clamped on the leaders, no one could tell what was intended, how much of what happened was spontaneous and how much permissible under Gandhi's highly personal direction. He had spoken against secrecy; he had told a Congress inquirer for full directions that they should all be content with the immediate work and that everything would come in its appointed time; he had expected a fortnight's time to prepare his campaign

and an interview with Linlithgow. All this suggested a peaceful non-violent agitation. On the other hand, he had spoken of Poland's violence as non-violence in view of the power and might of the invading forces; he had given the "Quit India" slogan as a final call to action, expecting a long struggle and offering no time limit for achievement; and men close to his mind had represented destruction to property as non-violent, when carried out under conditions precluding danger to person. The movement as it developed was secret and violent.

The Press was in a difficult position, specially the section of it which gave wholehearted support to the Congress. As Gandhi had anticipated, the restrictions under which newspapers functioned, placed a strain on those editors who wanted to support the movement and function normally. There was an additional complication in that many of these editors were sincerely and devoutly opposed to the Nazis and Fascists and had urged some action to restrain their steady advance. Brelvi of the *Bombay Chronicle*—an outstanding example of this group—suffered the additional difficulty of accepting Gandhi's ideas of non-violence; it had become almost a part of his nature and, while he was tolerant of secrecy, he displayed great tenacity and endurance in maintaining his faith. For this, he commanded the respect of even those who disagreed with him. But Brelvi was in every sense unusual, and he played a great part in smoothing over the difficulties of editors who practised the policy of dubious writing which Gandhi had anticipated as likely in a controlled Press. Under his lead, the Bombay Press Advisory Committee functioned as a shelter for editorial snipers.

There was a small handful of editors who went down on the start of the movement; there were a few who with Russia's entry into the war, accepted that the character of the war had changed, calling for an all-out effort to oppose the Fascists; there were again some who secretly agreed with Subhas Bose. But by far the majority were so dangerously confident of the final outcome being favourable to the Allies that they greeted reverses as desirable checks on the ultimate victors' pride and vanity. As they saw the obstinate denial of concessions to India, this mood increasingly showed itself in their writings which, expressing sympathy for the Allies, sought to leave no detail of setbacks unrecorded. As can be imagined, this was very trying to the administration which had

perforce in the context of Indian politics to exercise restraint; and to the British non-official who added to the administrator's difficulties by reacting uninhibitedly to it. It was remarkable that English editors as a whole kept their heads in this crisis, and the credit for enabling them to do so consistently goes to the Indian Newspapers Society and the Editors Conference.

The progress of civil disobedience and of the movement that developed out of the arrest of Gandhi, the members of the Working Committee and other Congressmen in 1942 was not the only topic that interested the Press. There were moves for ending the deadlock which attracted increasing attention as the movement was brought under control; there were the activities of the Muslim League and Jinnah's attempts to make the League the sole political organisation of the Muslims; there were the manoeuvres for power in the provinces where ministries still functioned; and as Congressmen began coming out after 1943 and expressing their views, the interest in the movement weakened until with Gandhi's release in April 1944 and his statement that he could not take the country back to 1942, public attention was rivetted to the constitutional changes which were pending. Linlithgow who stood firm on his policy of imprisoning Congressmen and holding the deadlock while he concentrated on prosecuting the war, left in October 1943. He had after the resignation of the Congress Ministries and the launching of individual civil disobedience, written off the Congress as a power whose support would matter to the conduct of the war. He had raised Jinnah to parity with Gandhi and he made the formation of Congress-League coalition ministries in all provinces a condition precedent to the restoration of popular ministries. He was believed to have opposed the settlement which Stafford Cripps worked out with Indian leaders and precipitated a crisis. It was his influence again and his dislike of the Cripps Mission that, in the opinion of many Indians, brought on the abrupt withdrawal of the Cripps offer in Parliament. There were enough reactionaries in the Conservative Government of Britain not to need any excuse but to Indians the obstructionist tactics of the Governor-General were the main factor in creating distrust of British intentions. And, when he sought to expand his Executive Council without extending Indian jurisdiction, the suspicion grew that he was not so interested in promoting national unity as in building up an opposition to the Congress.

The choice of Lord Wavell as his successor created little enthusiasm. Wavell had as Commander-in-Chief been responsible for dealing with that part of the movement which interfered with the prosecution of the war. Moreover, he clung for a time to Linlithgow's formula of provincial coalitions in Governors' provinces. But he interested himself in solving the deadlock and initiated a policy of gradual release of prisoners; he entered into correspondence with Gandhi; and he applied himself with energy to relieving the food shortages that had developed. He also displayed remarkable adaptability to changing conditions. A good deal took place behind the scenes but not all of it was as hidden from the Press as is generally assumed. There were many in positions of confidence who could not keep silent, and the Press in India, like the Press everywhere, soon found out the weak points and exploited them—in the executive council, in the working committee of the Congress and the League and elsewhere. It was in the governor-generalship of Linlithgow and Wavell that the Indian politician's habit of repudiating responsibility grew, thriving on the average Indian reporter's reliance on long-hand and memory.

Following in the wake of Linlithgow's search for unity, several efforts to establish a working basis for an interim Government at the Centre were advanced. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as early as 1941 had on the initiative of Sir Jagadish Prasad, an Executive Councillor, secured the support of the Liberals and others to a plan to bypass both the Congress and the League and to reconstruct the Centre and restore representative Government in the Governors' provinces. Jinnah opposing this had sought to establish an understanding with the Chamber of Princes about the same time but without success. These efforts failing to win British favour, Linlithgow announced the first expansion of his Council and established the National Defence Council as a liaison between British India and the States. Sir Tej Bahadur, however, persevered with constitution-making and a committee set up by him produced a formula for a national Government at the Centre, Congress ministries with non-Congress associates in the provinces, parity of representation between the Congress and the Muslim League on the constitution-making body and in the Central Legislature subject to giving up of separate electorates for reservation of seats, in June 1945. But by that time other plans were under consideration and the rejection of partition alienated the Muslim League while the

advocacy of parity was opposed by even non-Congress Hindus. In January 1945, Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, negotiated a pact with Liaqat Ali Khan, Assembly leader of the Muslim League, which had the support of Gandhi and was believed to be acceptable to Jinnah. This pact accepted parity between the Congress and the Muslim League with 20 per cent reservation for others; advocated Congress-League coalitions in the Governors' provinces and left ministerial arrangements in the others to be adjusted among the parties; and acquiesced in the continuance of the 1935 Constitution. This move was repudiated by Jinnah and by the leaders of the Congress and Desai faded out of politics shortly after.

Another move towards a settlement—this time with the Muslim League—was made in 1944 by C. Rajagopalachari who had for some months earlier been working towards some solution of the deadlock. The formula as it turned out later was evolved under Jinnah's inspiration and had been rejected by Shyam Prasad Mukherji, the Hindu Mahasabha leader; but Rajagopalachari had taken it up and now came forward to plead for its acceptance. Its terms visualized endorsement of the independence demand by the Muslim League, acceptance by the Congress of the League claim to a separate Sovereign State to be determined by plebiscite in areas where Muslims had an absolute majority after the war, and, in the event of a separate State being decided on, negotiation of an agreement for common defence, commerce and communications. Rajagopalachari wanted freedom for all parties to advocate their views and made partition contingent on transfer of power.

Rajagopalachari's formula was published on July 10, 1944. On July 11, an interview with Stuart Gelder, correspondent of the *News Chronicle*, was printed in the *Times of India*, in which Gandhi had expressed his personal readiness to support a national Government in Delhi in full control of civil administration. Rajagopalachari had prepared the ground for his plan by taking a section of the Press into his confidence but the Gelder interview was quite unexpected. There was a widespread protest in the Indian newspapers whose representatives had been waiting for an interview and had all been put off on the ground that Gandhi was convalescing. The Anglo-Indian Press was jubilant and attributed the "scoop" to the greater reliability of British journalists. But Gandhi

met the Press on July 12 and explained that he had given three hours spread over three days to Gelder in the hope of getting the message across to Wavell who had refused an interview to him, that the release to the *Times of India* was a surprise to him, that he had not met the Indian Press because he wanted to rest, and that his talks with Gelder were not with the journalist but with a sincere Englishman who was a friend and well-wisher of India, and whose contacts with the British Press would secure him an entry to Viceregal House. He handed them notes, which detailed his offer to Lord Wavell. And he followed this up with a statement to the Press categorically repudiating the violence that had taken place. In it he said:

> The question most discussed with me by visitors is whether I approve of underground activities. These include sabotage, the publication of unauthorised news-sheets, etc. It has been suggested to me that without some workers going underground they could have done nothing. Some have contended that destruction of property, including dislocation of communications, provided that safety of human life was insured, should surely be counted as non-violence. Examples of other nations as having not hesitated to do all these things and much worse have been cited. My reply is that no nation has, so far as I know, deliberately used Truth and Non-violence as exclusive means for the attainment of freedom. Judged by that standard, I say unhesitatingly that underground activities, even though utterly innocent in themselves, should have no place in the technique of non-violence. Sabotage and all it means, including destruction of property, is in itself violence. Though these activities may be shown to have touched the imagination of some people and roused their enthusiasm, I have no doubt that they have harmed the movement as a whole.

The cumulative effect of these events was to shake not Wavell out of his firmness but Indian public opinion. The Press naturally was disturbed—particularly that section of it that had given a guarded publicity to the movement. The reaction in Bengal and Bombay was instant. And when, finding Wavell unresponsive and the door to Delhi blocked, Gandhi turned to Jinnah for talks, there were angry protests all round. Jinnah's position in

July 1944 was not very strong. In Bengal, Sind and the North-West Frontier, the League ministries were none too stable. In the Punjab the Unionist Ministry refused in spite of League pressure to become a Muslim League Coalition Ministry. Jinnah expressed his satisfaction at Gandhi's willingness to discuss partition, rejected the formula that had returned to him through Rajagopalachari, and obtained the consent of the Muslim League Working Committee to the talks. The talks began on September 9, 1944 and ended on September 27, but not under the veil of secrecy as generally supposed. Two newspapers in Bombay at least were in possession of the facts as they developed and the letters exchanged came into the hands of the editors in Dalal Street and Medow Street almost before the addressees received them. When the breakdown was announced, there was general relief at the averting of partition. But Gandhi said, "The breakdown is only so-called. It is an adjournment sine die;" and Jinnah added, "We trust this is not the final end of our efforts."

In June 1945, Wavell called his Simla Conference of 21 leaders with Gandhi staying on at Wavell's request in Simla. The basis of discussion was the Desai-Liaquat Pact with certain amendments and amplifications. The remaining members of the Congress Working Committee had been released and the release of other prisoners would be effected by the new central and provincial Governments. The talks failed because Jinnah insisted on having all five Muslim members of the Executive Council from the Muslim League and on having a special power of veto for Muslims in the Council as an additional safeguard for the Muslims. The claim was high-pitched. In the North-West Frontier Province the League Ministry had to give over power to the Congress; in Assam the League Ministry functioned with the support of the Congress; in Sind the League Ministry functioned on sufferance; and in Bengal the League which had been brought into power by the support of the British bloc, had failed to hold office and had given way to Governor's rule. There was general objection to the assumption that the Congress and the Muslim League represented the whole of India but the Viceroy smoothed over the trouble. The Congress, however, accepted the concept of parity between it and the League, and raised no difficulty over coalitions in the provinces where Governor's rule prevailed.

On August 6, 1945, a phase of the war ended with the close of hosti-

lities with Japan. Preparations were at once taken up for general elections both to the Centre and to the provinces, with the expectation that political leaders would assume ministerial responsibility in the provinces and the promise that a new Executive Council with the support of the main parties would be formed at the Centre and a constitution-making body would be convened as soon as possible. The Indian National Army trials held in the Red Fort under a Military Tribunal recoiled on the Government, national excitement mounting with the Congress and later the Muslim League associated in the defence of the accused. Speeches were made and demonstrations indulged in until a tense situation was created, and the British Government reaffirmed its desire to hasten the process of constitution-making. A parliamentary delegation was sent out which, though roundly criticised in the Press, had no great effect on the course of events.

In this atmosphere, the Congress and the Muslim League—the latter on the issues of Pakistan and the right to be sole representatives for the Muslims—went to the polls. In the Central Assembly, the Congress won 57 seats, the Muslim League 30, Independents 5, the Akali Sikhs 2, and Europeans 8—totalling 102 elected seats. The Congress and the League had wiped out all other competitors in their constituencies. With the new year, the provincial election results began to come in. Here elections were first held in provinces which had popular ministries and then in governors' provinces. In Assam the Congress won all the general seats, gaining 58 out of the total 108; the Muslim League nearly all the Muslim seats. The Congress Party formed the Ministry offering two seats in the Cabinet to the League, which refused because a Nationalist Muslim had a seat in it as well. In Sind, the League secured 27 seats and won over an independent Muslim member; G. M. Syed won 4 for his party which had broken from the League just before the elections; the Nationalist Muslims won 3; the Congress 21; Europeans three; and Labour 1. A coalition between the Congress members, the Nationalist Muslims and Syed's men brought about another group of 28 members, and the Labour member joined the coalition. The Muslim League was called on to form the Government and Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah offered two Hindu seats in his ministry to the Congress but the Congress pressed for the offer being made to G. M. Syed who was the head of the coalition. As the League would not deal with non-League Muslims, the matter was dropped. In the

North-West Frontier Province, the Congress won 30 out of 50 seats and formed the Ministry. In the Punjab, the League won 75 out of 86 Muslim seats; the Congress won 51 seats; the Panthic Akali Sikhs 22; the Unionists 20; and Independents 7. The League after the elections increased its number to 79 but still could not form a ministry without the cooperation of another party. The Congress which had an alliance with Sikhs, negotiated with the League, demanding half the seats in the Cabinet and the exclusion of extra-provincial matters from the provincial assembly; the Congress also insisted on its right to nominate ministers from any community. The League rejected this and failed to assure the Akali Sikhs that, in the event of the Muslim League pressing for Pakistan, it would support the creation of a Sikh State. A coalition ministry was formed under the leadership of Khizr Hyat Khan, the Unionist leader. In Bihar, Orissa, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras, the Congress won overwhelming majorities, without being affected by the fact that the Muslim League also won overwhelmingly in the Muslim constituencies. In all of them the local Congress leader negotiated with the League for a coalition but without success because of the Congress insistence on its parliamentary programme and more the League refusal to accept any other Muslim as representative of the community.

The Congress had not raised the question of partition at the elections. But it had advocated federation with maximum freedom to the constituent units, promised fundamental rights, and staked its claim on the larger basis of national independence. In the All-India Congress Committee strong speeches had been made against partition and further negotiations with the Muslim League were frowned upon, a revival of the direct approach to the Muslim masses being favoured. As V. P. Menon observes,

> Years in the wilderness had impaired the party machine; some of its leaders were still in prison and party funds and property had in many cases been sequestrated. These difficulties only added to the feeling of resentment against the Government. Some Congressmen glorified the activities which had brought them into conflict with the Government in 1942, and there were threats of similar struggle after the elections, if nothing satisfactory emerged.

The election manifesto itself ended ambiguously on this note:

On August 8, 1942, the All India Congress Committee passed a resolution, since then famous in India's story. By its demands and challenge India stands today. It is on the basis of this resolution and this battle-cry that the Congress faces the elections.

On the other hand, there were psychological changes in the minds of the Congress leaders of which only occasional glimpses were available in the Press on the question of partition. Apart from Gandhi's commitments to Jinnah, there were Nehru's remarks to the Parliamentary Delegation conceding the possibility of Pakistan. Nor was Jinnah's objection to a truncated Pakistan as strongly expressed in private as it was in public; and the British appear to have known this well. In August 1945, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad advanced his own scheme for a communal settlement, observing that as an Indian Muslim he considered Pakistan an undesirable goal. His plan favoured a federation with limited powers and autonomous units with the right to secede; joint electorates with reservation of seats and differential franchise to adjust population variations; parity between Hindus and Muslims in the central legislature and the central executive; a convention ensuring alternate Hindu and Muslim heads of the Federation; and non-interference by Hindus in decisions about Muslim status in the Indian Constitution to be taken freely by Muslims themselves. The Maulana's scheme was never seriously put before even the Working Committee because of the strong opposition it encountered among the Congress leaders in informal discussions. It was believed that Vallabhbhai Patel and Rajagopalachari were strong objectors, holding that the Maulana's plan was a stage in achieving Pakistan, a half-way house that was worse than the whole concession.

The clearest indication for the Press was the disclosures following Rajagopalachari's publishing of his formula and the public reaction was violently opposed to any acceptance of partition. As the feeling grew that the Congress could not be expected to take a firm stand for the unity of India, various political parties began to adjust themselves to the idea of partition—the Sikhs pressing for a separate state; the Bengal Hindus turning their minds to carving a separate province for Hindus in Bengal; and in the North-West Province there was a move among the Red Shirts to claim a separate state for the Pathans in the event of partition of India. Both during negotiations with the League and in the intervals

between, the Congress exercised its considerable influence over the Indian Press to exercise moderation in comment and restraint in publication. The war years had acclimatised the Press to this, and the organisation of publishers and editors into all India associations served to make individual editors very conscious of the opinion of editors as a whole. The prospect of early national independence and the delicate balance of forces worked to stifle freedom of expression. There were exceptions but they suffered under the double disability of incurring the odium of their fellows and offending the future holders of power. And the code of conduct which editors had jointly drawn up, hung like a sword of Damocles over their heads.

CHAPTER XIX

Press and Government

> A direct consequence of secrecy in the ordinary press may be great activity of the subsidiary press in disseminating the concealed material, and this is more dangerous than frank discussion in the general press.
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> —ZECHARIAH CHAFEE

DURING the progress of the provincial elections, there was a storm which burst over the country. It was the revolt of the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy which spilled over the Signal School in Bombay into the streets of Bombay and shook the country. On February 18, 1946, the boys in the Signal School went on strike in protest against racial discrimination and poor food. The immediate cause was their Commander's offensive remarks about Indians. The inspiration was the political speeches and activities of certain leaders of the Socialist Party who themselves moved by the acts of the Indian National Army of Subhas Bose had visions of leading an Indian National Navy. The whole incident might have been kept within manageable limits but for an indiscreet broadcast by the Flag Officer Commanding the Royal Indian Navy who said, among other things, that he would rather see the Navy demolished than tolerate mutiny. This brought the Indian Press into the field.

The *Free Press Journal* had been critical of the Congress: It had denounced the insistence on non-violence as a betrayal of the rank and file whose numbers and energy had kept the flag flying; it had not disguised its dislike of the I.N.A. trials; it had protested vehemently against Gandhi's negotiations with Jinnah; it opposed partition energetically and, condemning every effort of the British Government to open talks with Indian leaders, it advocated keeping up the revolutionary spirit of the Congress. The R. I. N. hunger-strike started as a minor affair but the Admiral's broadcast gave the whole matter a different complexion. The *Free Press Journal* which had been hesitating over the question, came out with a demand for the Admiral's instant removal, gave the fullest publicity to the "manifestoes" and acts of the strikers, and warned the ratings to guard against political manipulations. When Vallabhbhai Patel and other Congress luminaries entered the scene to

bring the strike to an end, the *Free Press Journal* scathingly attacked the leaders and urged that surrender at that stage would, whatever assurances were secured, result in victimisation. The ratings gave in, largely because of the persuasions of Vallabhbhai Patel and promises to prevent discrimination given by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Vallabhbhai Patel and Jinnah, on February 23, 1946. The *Free Press Journal* had once again extended the liberty of the Press to its utmost limit and for once was not hauled up for its temerity. But it had added one more proof to the accumulation of the past to leading Congressmen that it could be embarrassingly inconvenient.

The intervention of men like Vallabhbhai Patel, Abul Kalam Azad and others to prevent violence was a definite indication that the cares of administration had already begun to weigh heavily on their shoulders. By March 1946 the Congress ministries had been formed in the provinces; on September 2, 1946 Jawaharlal Nehru formed the interim Government at the Centre; and on October 15, 1946 the Muslim League entered the Government of India. Between March and August, there was considerable activity in the political field. The Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, came out to India and associated the Viceroy as a member of the Mission. The ground had been well prepared. The British Prime Minister had in a broadcast announcing the Mission, made pointed reference to the intention to help India attain her independence as speedily and fully as possible and to giving no veto to any minority on the advance of the majority.

There were signs that the Press as a whole was rather tired of the stalemate, the Congress more eager to assume power and weary of its old negative approach, and the Cabinet Mission anxious to arrive at some workable arrangement. The Muslim League alone was willing to enter on political agitation, having pursued so far a policy of remaining neutral between the Government and the Congress. Its weak hold on two provinces was in contrast to the Congress which held eight provinces, was the dominant partner in a coalition in the ninth, and even in the two Muslim League provinces formed a formidable opposition. But this itself was a factor making for greater obduracy on the part of Jinnah. There had been a hardening against concessions to the League and, though

the Hindu Mahasabha had been swept off its feet in the elections, the opposition to partition within the Congress itself was very strong. Several minds were at work to devise a formula which would give the Indian Muslim all that the Muslim League offered without conceding Pakistan. But these were not placed before the public. The general body of the Congress itself learnt no more of this than it had known of the Azad formula. The Congress in fact proceeded in public as though the final decision was in its hands long after the initiative had passed from it to the Government. In spite of presenting, as they saw it, the Cabinet Mission proposals as the last alternative to partition, the Congress leaders—notably Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru—spoke and acted as though it was the extreme of concession the Congress was asked to make to the Muslim League, and proceeded to reduce their commitments by re-interpretation of the terms of the plan. Briefly, the Cabinet Mission scheme outlined an immediate plan for reconstructing the Viceroy's Executive Council into an interim Government and a long-term plan for working out the future Constitution, the basis of which was grouping provinces so that Bengal and Assam would be together, the Punjab, the North-West Province and Sind would form a second group, and the rest form a third group.

With the release of these proposals, the subject became one for discussion throughout the country without the negotiations between the parties being known at first. But this gap was soon filled as the Congress and the League began to offer comments. In the result, the Congress went into the interim Government while the Muslim League decided on "direct action," Jinnah maintaining that the extreme step which he had avoided so far had been forced on him. The Muslim agitation not being non-violent gave rise to riots in Bengal and in Bengal and Sind August 16, 1946 "Direct Action" Day was declared a public holiday with the Muslim Press caught in the frenzy of the moment. The Chief Minister of Bengal publicly announced his intention to declare the "independence" of Bengal. On a rough official estimate, 5,000 persons were killed, 15,000 injured and 100,000 persons rendered homeless, in Calcutta alone, in the rioting that lasted from August 16 to 23, 1946. There was no condemnation of these acts by the Muslim League and no repudiation of the violence which continued to manifest itself even after the Muslim League entered the Central Government. Jinnah's nominees were carefully chosen to provide a team that would

function collectively. The Congress had been less foresighted; between Nehru and Patel fundamental differences existed. While Nehru was pressing for withdrawal from the interim government as he found conditions beyond his control, Vallabhbhai Patel was determined to continue in office. Patel insisted that these differences had always been there and that Wavell had seen through "idle threats of resigning." Gandhi functioned as a reconciling element. Not only with Patel was Nehru at odds. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was regarded as close to him but the Maulana's action in achieving a coalition in the Punjab with the Unionists came in for severe condemnation in the *National Herald*, which Nehru supported in the Congress discussions. Moreover, Vallabhbhai Patel had underestimated the strength of the provinces in normal times because under the war emergency they had functioned under the Home Department. He clung to the Home Ministry, refusing to yield it to the Muslim League which was offered Finance in the hope that the technicalities would frighten the League. But the Finance Department was turned by Liaqat Ali Khan into an instrument of offence and obstruction.

In the provinces, the Ministries took over from April 1946 and were immediately confronted with labour strikes and communal unrest. They retained the machinery of press advising with a variation in application. During the war, a policy had evolved which left the responsibility of individual editors unfettered by restrictions. The Government accepted limiting action to cases of continued infringement of an agreement. With the outbreak of communal trouble, the provincial Governments attempted to formulate a code but it was found that with the general intention to promote peace absent any definition led to searches for evasion. The Congress Governments sought to regulate even display and failing to achieve moderation sought more powers. The editors for their part concentrated on the letter of drafted codes and infringed the spirit behind them without any hesitation. The Press Advisory Committee in these circumstances failed to face up to the problem and conceived it its duty to champion offending editors, find excuses for them and plead with the Government for leniency. As this failed to secure the Committee either the goodwill of the editors or the respect of the Government, conditions deteriorated and the members of the Committee proceeded to support stronger action by the Government, relying on the Government to maintain secrecy about their advice.

There were other difficulties. The vast majority of the Press was inclined to look leniently on the Government, both because for the first time both in the Centre and in the provinces some form of national administration existed and because the tensions between the Congress and the Muslim League distressed the Press. There were, of course, the Muslim League newspapers—strong in Bombay, the Punjab and Bengal—which formed one arm of the direct action movement; there were strong Hindu newspapers pulling the other way ; there were Communist journals functioning since the war with the British Government's approval and riding on the tide of their part in the Royal Indian Navy troubles. Between the Congress Ministers and the nonconformist Press, there was always an antagonism carried over from the war. The Ministers were indignant that editors who had submitted to foreign control, should prove intractable to their own countrymen; while the editors considered themselves more than a match for Indian Ministers after having managed the bureaucrats of the British regime at a critical time. From October 1946 to beyond August 15, 1947, the date of partition, the Marathi Press of Bombay and Poona rivalled the Urdu journals in their provocations. And the Marathi writings were more wounding to the Government because they commented bitingly on the weaknesses of Congress policy. A policy of de-Hinduising the country was charged against the Congress and appeals for moderation were ridiculed as so many efforts to escape criticism. The outbreak of communal trouble compelled many provincial Governments to adopt ordinances giving them special powers. These were passed into law by special legislation to bring the situation under control, and there was no serious objection from the Press in India.

As the protracted action of riots outside and non-cooperation within the interim Government worked itself out to the conclusion of partition, the tempo of events hastened. The leaders of the Congress were mentally prepared to face partition since it alone would rid them of their inconvenient Muslim League colleagues. But the country at large was not yet ready, and Gandhi, who had ceased to count in the counsels of the Congress, proved a source of embarrassment by having second thoughts on all the commitments of the party leaders. The desire for an early solution existed both in the Indian political parties and in the British Labour Government.

Wavell who had with infinite patience worked to bring both the Congress and the Muslim League into his Executive Council, had still hopes that joint working would lead to a smoothing of the path. At a crisis, with the Congress demanding the expulsion of the League members of the interim Government and the League pressing for dissolution of the Constituent Assembly from which it abstained, the British Government announced (February 20, 1947), its decision to withdraw from India by June 1948 handing over to one or more successor Governments, recalling Wavell and sending out Lord Mountbatten in his place. The reference to a possible transfer to provincial Governments created unrest in the Punjab. The choice of Mountbatten was significant. "No man," observed a former colleague to Michael Brecher, biographer of Nehru, "could get out of a mess more quickly, or into one, than Mountbatten." The programme of transfer was completed nine months and a half ahead of schedule. To quote Brecher again,

> India paid an exorbitant price for his military approach. But in terms of British interests it was a brilliant achievement, the skilful execution of a policy of withdrawal. Mountbatten's diplomacy at the time and his continuing friendship with Nehru won rich dividends for the British.

There was evidence in abundance that the Congress failed to appreciate the full meaning of what they had agreed to. Kripalani spoke of winning back the seceding provinces. As the Punjab holocaust overshadowed everything else, the shock of realisation dawned on them—the first time when they and the public faced a crisis together, since the decision to enter the Government was made.

There were many things to cut the leaders off from the public—acceptance of partition and of continuance in the Commonwealth being the major ones. There followed a period, when with distress deepening around them, minor leaders of the Congress shrank from the public.

The Press developed in those early years of freedom the sensational side of journalism which has now become a permanent factor in Indian journalism. The bulk of the newspapers was politically minded. A Bengal editor-proprietor unblushingly avowed that he had to adopt a communal policy because playing down riots and disturbances curbed his sales. "Even the newsboys refuse to touch

my paper if my rivals report a larger number of deaths than I do," he remarked, adding eloquently that he had taken the hint and been justified by results. Provincial Ministers were vulnerable because the Union Ministers had a national status. And it was during the first two years of responsible Government in the provinces that the Editors Conference turned its attention to sensational journalism. It must be remarked that "sensationalism" in the context of Indian journalistic controversy means distorting communal and political differences and latterly presenting reports with little supporting evidence. It would in other countries be more correctly called irresponsible journalism—not only for its disregard for accuracy but also for the editorial suppleness in printing withdrawals, apologies and disclaimers. Active in this campaign for a more responsible Press was Devadas Gandhi. But there was a reason for the growth of sensationalism—the reluctance of the established newspapers to publish criticism, a reticence inspired by a genuine desire not to add to the difficulties of an already difficult situation. By this process the leading personalities of the Editors Conference made themselves into the guardians of the interest of the dominant party. Commenting on this, K. Natarajan wrote:

> The function of the journalist is not to safeguard the interest of any party, however great its role in the national struggle for independence, but to watch over the public interest, and by honest and independent criticism to prevent abuse of power as well as to correct bona fide mistakes of the administration. No administrator is infallible, especially when he has had little administrative experience. As against the realisation of journalistic responsibility, the other device is to draw up a code of journalistic conduct and to enforce its observance on all journalists. The All India Editors Conference is supposed to be formulating such a code. Whether it is the suitable organisation to enforce observance is doubtful. There is no reason why the code should be safeguarded by the men at the top of the profession only. An all India journalists association seems much more suitable for the purpose. Its constitution should be framed to include specifically the rights and duties of journalists. By adopting for its aim the "closed shop" principle, it could effectively prevent newspaper proprietors from engaging men who are not its members. Such a restraint on proprietors is indicated for upon them lies much of the res-

ponsibility for the state in which the profession finds itself today. (1947).

Another writer about the same time commented on the consequences of salesmanship and the market potential:

> Salesmanship in journalism—the desire for ever increasing circulation—is responsible for lowering journalistic standards; and these lowered standards in turn deprave public taste. Moreover, Indian newspapers in English have not grasped the significance of the movement against English. The English-reading public in this country is becoming less and less capable of grasping the niceties of the English language. Blithely indifferent to this main trend, the editorials and comments in the serious English press continue to appear in a language that is tedious and incomprehensible to the general reader. Moreover, to read a closely argued article on first principles demands a degree of concentrated attention. Few people have the leisure or inclination to do so. Since we are likely to see not a raising of the standard of English but a continuous lowering, the number of persons who can follow abstruse arguments in a language which will have at best the position of compulsory "second language" to them, is steadily diminishing. Thus, while the language wedge is being driven between the newspaper writer and his reading public, the "responsible" press does not represent public opinion. Readers are principally the middle classes and the middle classes are being compelled to reduce their living standards by the rising cost of living continuously. Not organised to ask for relief or to fight for it like the workers, and not able to pile up profits like the business and professional classes, they are the chief critics of the Government. The sensational press has been shrewd to sense this state of affairs and exploit it.

These two extracts together convey an accurate picture of conditions obtaining in post-Independence India. But there is a third side to it; the resentment of criticism among Ministers and a tendency to strike at offenders not through proceedings in courts of law but through withholding of advertisement and job work. Apart from the printing of routine papers like money order forms and telegraph forms, telephone directories and the like, the election

rolls under adult suffrage provide wide scope for patronage. The withdrawal of advertisements is spectacular and liable to evoke comment. The withdrawal of job printing presents few problems as it can be managed quietly.

The history of the news agencies took on a new turn with Independence. Following the pattern of Reuter, American agencies had in the forties gained an entry in India through one or more newspapers. They sought to gain a more permanent footing but without success. On the other hand, the Free Press Agency had begun as a news service and its organisers had been forced to enter the field of newspaper production. The Free Press of India News Agency attempted to stage a come-back in 1945 on an ambitious scale. It set up offices in London and New York and concentrated its attention on Nanking, Singapore, Batavia and Cairo. Its first interest was to provide a comprehensive news service for the Indian Press. It also planned to supply news of India to the World Press. Two years after its plans had developed and it had secured considerable support from the Indian Press, Indian publicists and businessmen, it was told that it could not be given leased teleprinter channels for its service. In May 1947, it closed down. The Associated Press of America and the United Press of America which had entered India during the war, gave up hopes of operating as world agencies a year later when the Press Trust of India concluded its agreement with Reuter, establishing a cooperatively owned internal news agency and participating as an equal partner with Reuter in giving India a world service. In 1952, the Press Trust of India terminated the agreement and negotiated another agreement by which it bought Reuter's news in bulk at Bombay and distributed it throughout India.

Reuter and the Associated Press of India, which after 1910 developed as an official agency in India, provided several services. The first of these was the Indian News Agency, a news bulletin of summarised news, which was supplied to officials and the smaller newspapers at Rs. 60 a copy until it was discontinued in 1948. There were two external services supplementing the outward service with Government material. And there was a commercial service supplied to business houses and industrialists. The Government of Britain distributed the British Official Wireless fed by the Foreign Office with fuller reports of official interest. Based on the supply of news from the Press Trust of India and augmented

by its news services, All India Radio broadcasts news bulletins to listeners who constitute a third of the number of newspaper readers. The Press Trust of India supplies three services, A, B and C, with varying rates of monthly payment—Rs. 3,600, Rs. 2,400 and Rs. 1,200—to newspapers printed in English and offers Indian language newspapers a 50 per cent concession on these rates.

The Associated Press of America and the United Press of America have been functioning through Indian newspapers, both agencies having been at different times supplying world news to the Times of India News Service which has besides its own correspondents. All India Radio for a short while took in the United Press of America but questions in Parliament hinted that subscribing to a second world agency was a superfluous luxury and it was dropped. The United Press of India ceased functioning in 1959. The *Times of India* and the *Indian Express* are now operating an external news agency and an internal one. The significant feature of these and similar efforts is that they all proceed out of a successful and prosperous newspaper enterprise. Because of this, the tendency is to confine their benefits to one newspaper or group of newspapers. As India had declared in favour of an independent foreign policy, it is essential that the public should have access to foreign news other than that supplied by the information services of foreign countries and foreign official news agencies like Tass of Soviet Russia. The attitude of the public as revealed by members of Parliament seems to be to look upon subscribing to more than one world service as duplication to be avoided. Since in all news reporting the personal element plays a great part both in selection of detail and in presenting the news, there is necessity for access to several versions. The economics of newspaper production in India render the news services of All India Radio an important source of information, and so long as Indian newspapers lack the resources the State-run radio must give the fullest coverage it possibly can.

A regional agency which functions somewhat more elaborately than the general run of such efforts, is the Hindustan Samachar of Bombay with branches in several important towns. The agency attempts to cater to the Indian language Press by supplying news in their language, and its coverage extends to matters of common interest and news of social, economic and cultural events. It has maintained its services against considerable odds, regional reporting outside district correspondents being neglected by newspapers as a

rule. But it is a valuable bit of news pioneering which deserves support and wide imitation in the rest of India. A network of regional agencies might answer many of the problems of the Indian Press which are connected with the deteriorating quality of district reporting. It may also well afford a useful corrective to the extreme urbanisation of the Indian Press.

A feature of the growth of the Press in the second quarter of the century is the rapid increase of technical journals. The Government of India itself publishes a number of monthly and weekly journals which provide information on the work of the different departments. But there are also several journals regularly issued by private individuals and associations to inform interested persons on the development of trade and industry. These publications do not compare in content and appearance to the specialised journals of the West but they mark a beginning and are a new trend of the movement away from political journalism which is on its way out. The development of house magazines in the fifties is another notable trend. Devoted generally to problems of business and management, these magazines are attractively produced and contain articles of general interest.

The growth of advertising agencies during the past thirty years has been remarkable. Foreign agencies have done a great deal of pioneering and, since now the bulk of the advertising passes through agencies some general principles have been widely accepted. There are still newspapers which try to circumvent agreements about discount in order to secure business, but it is only a matter of time before common standards are established. A small beginning has been made in market research which will assume increasing importance with the spread of industrialisation. The Government of India pursued for some time a policy of encouraging indigenous advertising agencies by canalising its advertisements through them, evidently looking upon advertising as a matter of patronage. Apparently the failure by results of this policy, which began to be felt by 1958, and the existence of a large establishment in the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity have induced the Government to explore the possibilities of economy in placing its advertisements directly with the Press and thus saving the 15 per cent discount accorded to recognized advertising agencies. On this subject, the remarks of the Press Commission on the role of advertising agencies in the newspaper industry has a significance:

> The tendency to place advertisements through advertising agencies . . . would tend to reduce the influence of advertisers on the Press, by reducing the direct contact between the Press and the advertisers. Though it is theoretically possible that advertising agencies may themselves act as a source of pressure on the Press, usually the diversity of interests among their clients would reduce the danger.

The Government of India, after the attaining of Independence, reviewed the position of the Press. A press laws inquiry committee was set up which submitted its report in May, 1948. It considered comprehensively the sections of the Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Sea Customs Act, the Indian Telegraph Act, the Indian Post Offices Act; it discussed the Press and Registration of Books Act, the Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act, the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, the Foreign Relations Act, and the Indian States (Protection) Act; and it reviewed the working of ten provincial acts adopted between 1947 and 1948, in the interests of public security. The recommendations of the Committee generally favoured the abolition of laws specially concerning the Press and the incorporation of their major provisions in the ordinary law of the land. In pursuance of this policy, it advocated the repeal of the two Indian States Acts, the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, and the Foreign Relations Act. It supported the provisions of the Telegraph Act, the Post Offices Act and the Sea Customs Act which provided the right of interception of messages and literature. It recommended the retention of the Official Secrets Act and the three sections—Sections 124A, 153A and 505—of the Indian Penal Code dealing with disaffection, communal hatred and tampering with the loyalty of the armed forces. It suggested that suitable additions should be made to exclude peaceful agitation for social or economic change. The Committee went into the question of contempt of court, and contempt of legislature at great length and was unable to reach a positive decision. It contented itself with remarking that the remedy for contempt of court and contempt of legislature was so arbitrary and drastic that it should only be invoked on rare occasions where grave provocation existed.

The recommendations of the Committee, however, were not acted on till 1951 under conditions which had aggravated relations

between the Government and the Press. The adoption of the Constitution in January 1950 created a new situation which required early attention. The Supreme Court and the High Courts had overruled the executive in a number of cases where newspapers had been penalised for publishing matter tending to cause public disturbances. The legal contention was that the Constitution had in Article 19(2) expressly restricted the limitations on freedom of expression to preventing libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court or offences against decency or morality or offences undermining the security of the State or tending to overthrow the State. The judicial decisions had declared that incitement of offences which fell short of undermining the security of the State, of encouraging the undermining of the State, could not be proceeded against. The Law Member remarked in explanation of his proposal to amend Article 19(2) of the Constitution that anybody could incite or encourage the commission of murder or any other cognizable offence. The amendment proposed was to extend the saving clause to legislation imposing, in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, or public order, restrictions on the exercise of freedom of expression. The Press reacted strongly to this proposal and intensive agitation resulted in the final phrasing of Article 19(2):

> Nothing in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, including in particular any existing or other law relating to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.

To secure the approval of the Press, the Home Minister, C. Rajagopalachari, offered to refer all questions affecting the Press to a jury composed of press editors and promised not to impose pre-censorship. He further promised to bring forward a comprehensive measure relating to the Press in consonance with the spirit of the Constitution to eliminate unhealthy conditions and foster good relations between the Government and the Press. The Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, followed this up with an offer of a Press Com-

mission with personnel drawn from the All India Editors Conference and the Federation of Working Journalists to report on the condition of the Press in India. Despite these promises, the Editors Conference expressed itself vehemently against the amendment of the Constitution. But the amendment was passed by 288 votes to 20. The Editors Conference then adopted a number of resolutions withdrawing from all committees working in contact with the Government, demanding assurances from candidates for election that they would work for repeal of the amendment, and calling for publication of a protest slogan by all newspapers and periodicals and suspension on July 12, 1951 as a protest. The protests were not carried out fully but in most States liaison committees ceased to exist. Later in the year, the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act was passed with some minor concessions granted to the Editors Conference and the Federation of Working Journalists. The operative clause read:

> 3. *Objectionable matter defined*: In this Act, the expression 'objectionable matter' means any words, signs or visible representations which are likely to
>
> (*i*) incite or encourage any person to resort to violence or sabotage for the purpose of overthrowing or undermining the Government established by law in India or in any State thereof or its authority in any area; or
>
> (*ii*) incite or encourage any person to commit murder, sabotage or any offence involving violence; or
>
> (*iii*) incite or encourage any person to interfere with the supply and distribution of food or other essential commodities or with essential services; or
>
> (*iv*) seduce any member of any of the armed forces of the Union or of the police forces from his allegiance or his duty, or prejudice the recruiting of persons to serve in any such force; or
>
> (*v*) promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different sections of the people of India; or which
>
> (*vi*) are grossly indecent, or are scurrilous or obscene or intended for blackmail.
>
> *Explanation* (i): Comments expressing disapprobation or criticism of any law or of any policy or administrative action of the Government with a view to obtain its alteration or redress by

lawful means, and words pointing out, with a view to their removal, matters which are producing, or have a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity or hatred between different sections of the people of India, shall not be deemed to be objectionable matter within the meaning of this section.

Explanation (ii) : In judging whether any matter is objectionable matter under this Act, the effect of the words, signs or visible representations, and not the intention of the keeper of the press or publisher of the newspaper or news-sheet, as the case may be, shall be taken into account.

Explanation (iii) : 'Sabotage' means the doing of damage to plant or stocks, or to bridges, roads and the like with intent to destroy or injuriously to affect the utility of any plant or service or means of communication.

The Act repealed four central acts—the Press (Emergency Powers) Act, the Foreign Relations Act, and the two States (protection) Acts—and thirteen states acts were declared void in so far as they aimed at controlling and regulating the Press. The Government had the power, under the Act, of demanding and forfeiting security on a judicial decision, of declaring certain publications confiscated, of seizing and forfeiting undeclared printing presses producing unauthorised news-sheets, of detaining imported packages containing certain documents, of prohibiting postal transmission of certain publications and messages, and of seizing and destroying unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers. The right of trial by jury was conceded to persons proceeded against under these rules. The Act was a reversal of policy as outlined by the Press Laws Committees' Reports of 1921 and 1948, both of which favoured incorporation of measures relating to the Press in the ordinary law of the land. What, however, distinguished the Act from previous Press Laws was that the judiciary not the executive was to decide on the necessity for action and the nature of the action to be taken. Between February 1,1952 and October 31, 1953, the number of cases did not exceed 134, of which 86 were for demands of security and 48 for forfeiture of security.

In October 1952, the Government of India under pressure from the Editors Conference and the Working Journalists appointed a Press Commission to look into the conditions of the Press. The personnel under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice G. S. Rajadhya-

ksha, consisted of Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Acharya Narendra Deva, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao and Messrs. P. H. Patwardhan, T. N. Singh, Jaipal Singh, Jagadish Natarajan, A. R. Bhatt, and M. Chelapathi Rau. The terms of reference covered a wide range:

> 2. The Press Commission shall enquire into the state of the Press in India, its present and future lines of development and shall in particular examine:
>
> (*i*) the control, management and ownership and financial structure of newspapers, large and small, the periodical press and news agencies and feature syndicates;
>
> (*ii*) the working of monopolies and chains and their effect on the presentation of accurate news and fair views;
>
> (*iii*) the effect of holding companies, the distribution of advertisements and such other forms of external influence as may have a bearing on the development of healthy journalism;
>
> (*iv*) the method of recruitment, training, scales of remuneration, benefits and other conditions of employment of working journalists, settlement of disputes affecting them and factors which influence the establishment and maintenance of high professional standards;
>
> (*v*) the adequacy of newsprint supplies and their distribution among all classes of newspapers and the possibilities of promoting indigenous manufacture of (*i*) newsprint and (*ii*) printing and composing machinery;
>
> (*vi*) machinery for (*a*) ensuring high standards of journalism and (*b*) liaison between Government and the Press; the functioning of Press Advisory Committees and organisations of editors and working journalists, etc.;
>
> (*vii*) freedom of the Press and repeal or amendment of laws not in consonance with it;
>
> and to make recommendations thereon.

The wide terms of reference, the requirement that the report should be completed by March 1, 1953, and the many-sided activities of the non-journalist members of the Commission roused apprehensions of the seriousness of the intention of the Government. But the Commission surmounted these difficulties and secured an extension of time till the end of July 1954. Though some of the aims

sought to be achieved by the Commission have been impeded and others perverted, the Commission set up a research section working in three parts—to analyse newspaper content, to examine the ownership and financial structure of newspaper, and to work out statistical data. By this means, it was able to collect and present valuable information on the Press, and the Registrar of Newspapers, who on its suggestion was appointed to keep up the work, has improved on the information in his annual reports.

CHAPTER XX

After the Press Commission

> Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the government's purposes are beneficent. The greatest danger to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well meaning but without understanding.
>
> —Louis D. Brandeis

At the time the Press Commission carried on its inquiry the Indian Press had many sides to it: It had grown into an industry which gave a suggestion of being profitable. It had in English and in the Indian languages developed a highly critical faculty. It had given rise to subsidiary occupations.

It had in course of time become itself a topic of fierce discussion. It pressed the Government to allow it full freedom of expression. Sections of it had carried on as if no restrictions existed while others had protested that opinion was being suppressed. It had been accused of exploiting its workers and making large profits. Members of the Press had claimed that it was a public utility in private hands and that to start a newspaper was an educational service equal to starting a school. There had been agitation by editors about scurrilous journalism. There had been accusations by working journalists of gross exploitation. The State Governments were being charged of bringing pressure on newspapers which were critical of their policies. And the newspaper world created only a year earlier a furious campaign against the Central Government for amending the Constitution. A couple of industrial disputes had been settled in favour of the workers and a couple of newspapers had shut down because they could not or would not pay the higher wages. There was obviously much more involved than questions of restraining the Government. The public looked to the Commission to enlighten it on these and other points; the working journalists expected the Commission to lead them into the promised land; and the proprietors were apprehensive of what was in store for them, anxious to give as little information as possible, and preparing to meet the situation as best they could.

The Rajadhyaksha Commission approached 463 institutions and

associations for a preliminary memorandum and received replies from 151; it circulated its general questionnaire to 11,780 individuals and associations and received 318 replies. Out of 1,685 members of Parliament and State Legislatures, 7 replied. Out of 7,335 editors, 111 replied. Out of 1,350 members of the public, 77 replied. Partly this poor response was the result of the complicated nature of the questionnaire; partly it was general lack of interest in the Press as an institution. In its effort to collect factual data, it received first 110 answers from editors; after extension of time was sought and granted, this mounted to 352; and then on the threat of action, it rose to 739— out of 7,335 editors. The collection of information to form a preliminary list of newspapers took up considerable time and required cross-checking and references back to the State Governments. Books and pamphlets were mixed up with newspapers and commercial, leaflets racing schedules and market reports were included among the newspapers. Some newspapers had ceased publication, others had not yet been published.

After sifting out the figures, the Commission found that there were 330 daily newspapers in India with a combined circulation of 2,525,500, with 3,203 periodicals. The Commission comments on the lack of enterprise in publishers, the small number of scientific and technical journals and the decline of serious journalism. There was scurrilous writing in a small section of the periodical Press, and the part played by government publications was resented by private proprietors. A study of the economics of the Press showed that daily newspapers are carried on for "altruistic or selfish" reasons and that the prospects of earning profits are not the motive for attracting capital. Of periodicals, it observes that those started to feed a press already installed for job work are the most financially successful, while the others which began by themselves and then bought a press in expectation of securing job printing have failed. Most weeklies do not own their own press and so need less capital to begin with. The Commission observes that the periodical press offers the best scope for investment and is an attraction to sections of the community which lack large resources but desire to spread their ideas.

As the Commission delved deeper into things, it began to learn what few outside a newspaper office knew: Outside the English-owned Press, which had now passed mostly into Indian hands, there were no hard and fast demarcations, no allocation of set

duties. Most of the staff had been taken on as reporters and sub-editors. Somewhere between the press and the editorial staff, there were the proof-readers. There was an editor, of course, and there were assistant editors. Editorship was the plum of the profession; and gone were the days when the editor could talk of the missionary spirit of journalism because between him and the rest there was a wide gulf. The years of World War II had made a difference—prosperity had alleviated the lot of the working journalist. But few men desired to job their sons and nephews into the profession. Even a proprietor must be sadly lacking in ambition if he wished to initiate a relation into journalism. Affluence was rare for newspapers and, when it showed itself, the commercial page and the sports page began to appear as distinct features, the outward sign of the inward grace of departmentalization. On the meagre salaries offered, the office could not pick and choose. It was remarkable that so many good men joined the profession; more remarkable that they stayed on, showing considerable adaptability. It was understandable that they should have a grievance, that they should be so easily drawn into national movements, and that with the end of political agitation their minds should turn to improving their own lot. Other openings had arisen. Government offices had expanded; industry and commerce had done well; but journalism stood suspended between business and mission. Indian newspapers continued to exist but were too anaemic to live.

The transformation into a business enterprise had already begun. In a few offices, a change had come about with a change of ownership. The new proprietors were businessmen who did much to straighten out finances. Salaries were paid regularly, contributors no longer hung around for their dues, and the paper and ink merchants received payment for their bills in time. To some proprietors, this in itself was no small achievement, and they did not outgrow the the point of admiring themselves for what they had accomplished. The employees for their part were not quite sure that the new state was an improvement because they lost much of the elbow room they had enjoyed in the old irregular days. A further complication lay in the distinction between the journalists and the press workers, which the former ceased to relish or desire as they saw the organised unions of the latter winning points against the management. It was not without a struggle that the All India Journalists Association of Bombay turned itself into the Bombay Union of Journalists;

the older men opposed any suggestion of unionising the profession. The All-India Federation of Working Journalists formed in 1951 was principally responsible for the appointment of the Press Commission and it was natural that professional interest in the Commission's work should be concentrated on its recommendations about working conditions.

There was little in the Indian Press that could bear the light of day. Except for the fortunate few that had built a secure place for themselves, the majority were blundering through. It did not matter for newspapers and journals which functioned in order to propagate a point of view. But for those who were adjusting themselves to modern conditions and hoping gradually to achieve a secure position, it was a bitter blow to see new rivals springing up with less regard for financial stability and less fear of governmental action. The pressures of a modern age when advertising went by circulations which were checked by the Audit Bureau of Circulations added fresh difficulties. And the policy of keeping expenses down while the storm blew itself over their heads was broken into when Industrial Tribunals awarded higher salaries, regular increments and bonuses to the press workers. The probing of the Press Commission at such a time was peculiarly inconvenient.

The Press Commission submitted its recommendations. It recommended the setting up of a Registrar at the Centre with State counterparts, and a Registrar was appointed at Delhi. It suggested the setting up of a Press Council under the chairmanship of a High Court Judge or ex-judge nominated by the Chief Justice of India with representatives of editors, journalists and proprietors. The Press Council was to deal with all matters concerning the Press and journalists and was to be a statutory body. The idea was to have a Press Council actively interested in the growth and development of a healthy and responsible Press, independent enough to resist executive encroachments and strong enough to carry weight with the profession. Among its objects was to improve methods of recruitment, education and training of journalists, to encourage responsibility and a sense of public service among journalists, and to build up a code in accordance with the highest professional standards. The Commission attached the greatest importance to this recommendation, implementation of which, it felt, would obviate the need for a large amount of government intervention. Needless to say, much of the Commission's expectations from such

a Council would have been unfulfilled. But that its work would have been beneficial to the Press as a whole cannot be doubted.

The Press Commission expressed itself in favour of emergency legislation for preventing press excesses in preference to incorporation of the provisions of the Press (Objectionable Matter) Act in the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code, because an emergency law is of a temporary nature. While it was inclined to retain several of the laws as they were, the Commission favoured a change in the law of defamation to afford special facilities of defence to officials. On all these matters of legislation, a minority on the Commission held a different view, pressing for repeal of the Press (Objectionable Matter) Act, a modification of the amended Article 19(2) of the Constitution to remove the reference to friendly relations with foreign states, and a retention of a uniform defamation law for officials and private citizens.

The Government of India has not, as a rule, accepted the lead of the Press Commission. It has shown a preference to amending the laws of the land rather than for emergency legislation. This was evident when the Constitution was amended to curtail free expression of opinion. It is more flagrant in the recent decision to amend the the Indian Penal Code to check communal and separatist tendencies. The main clause in the amendment provides that acts promoting feelings of enmity between different religions, racial or language groups, castes or communities or acts prejudicial to the maintenence of harmony between these groups shall be punishable with imprisonment or fine or both. The simultaneous amendment of the Election Rules, however, demonstrates that the Press here is not regarded as the main offender but merely the instrument exploited by politicians. In fact, the Congress Party was faced with the problem when the Home Ministry suggested that the Press was at fault so far as deteriorating conditions were concerned. And the party view was that this was far-fetched. This might be a consideration induced by the need of the Press during election time but it is nevertheless gratifying as a concession to reality.

A novel proposal put forward by the Commission was the price-page schedule. Justifying this on the ground that it would effect an increase in the number of newspapers in the country, the Commission recommends regulating the minimum and maximum pages that can be given by a newspaper in a week at a particular price and the minimum of news and editorials it should carry. It supports the

case with the following argument:

> As matters stand at present a paper with a large circulation because of its lower cost of production per copy enjoys certain advantages over other papers with smaller circulation. Similarly, a paper with large capital resources behind it is free from certain handicaps which affect another paper with limited capital. Papers of long standing which have been able to build up a large and stable volume of advertisement revenue are in a very advantageous position as compared to others who have just entered the field. It is true that such economic advantages and handicaps exist in a number of industries but their presence in the newspaper industry is not, in our opinion, conducive to the even and healthy development of the press. Newspapers serve as media for the free exchange of information and of ideas. The proper functioning of democracy requires that every individual should have equal opportunity in so far as this can be achieved, to put forward his opinions. We consider it therefore essential that measures should be adopted to reduce the differences due to economic advantages or other causes, and to enable newcomers to start with a fair chance of achieving success. After examining various schemes that have been put forward for this purpose, we feel that to fix a minimum price at which papers of a particular size can be sold would be the most effective measure to bring about this end.

The Commission visualised periodic adjustments but tentatively recommended the following scales:

SIX-DAY PAPERS OF STANDARD SIZE

Retail price per copy	*Number of pages per week*		*Minimum matter excluding advertisement*
	Maximum	*Minimum*	
1 anna	24	20	15
1 anna 3 pies	30	24	18
1 anna 6 pies	36	28	22
2 annas	48	38	28
2 annas 6 pies	60	48	36

In trying to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission on these two proposals, the Government of India has followed a cautious policy. It introduced a bill from which all refer-

ence to the need for promoting responsible journalism constructively was removed, the power conferred on the Council to pull up non-journalists for improper pressure omitted, and professional representation limited to advisory recommendations from associations. While the Commission expressly stated that the Press Council should not function as a judicial court, the Bill has definitely conferred such powers on it. And what was intended to be a largely professional body was to be converted by the Bill into a goverment department on which there would be three members of Parliament. In view of the opposition of the Press, the Bill was dropped. On the price-page schedule, too, the Government has introduced dangerous variations which undermine the Commission's objective of promoting an increase of newspapers, and of restraining the bigger newspapers from smothering the new ones. For the schedule excludes newspapers that sell at above 13 naye paise. In considering the price-page schedule, however, the Commission was carried away by the arguments of the newspapers which were unable to compete with cheaper rivals. The argument that some newspapers were sold at give-away prices, seems to have weighed heavily. But if the cost of waste paper rises to some approximation of the price of newsprint, few copies will reach the general reader with consequences that can well be imagined. The Commission's aversion to chain newspapers, group newspapers, large circulations and anything that savours of bigness is understandable. But it should not lead to wrong remedies. If the waste paper fetches a profit or incurs a small loss after deducting the commission of the agent, there is little reason for a proprietor who wants to inflate his figures, to involve himself with an agent; he can net a bigger profit or convert his loss to gain by undertaking distribution himself. It is not necessary to deny that instances of this can be found, but then that they are few enough not to call for so drastic a measure as a price-page schedule must be conceded. Similarly, the Commission seemed to be obsessed by the example of some half a dozen English newspapers which devoted more than 40 per cent of their space to advertisements. The analysis of the contents of newspapers prepared by the Commission, provides some interesting details of both reading and advertisement matter. By and large these studies bear out that national and regional news find more space, that the refinements of special features and general interest articles occur more frequently in the English language Press, and that both in

the English and Indian language Press editorial comment tended to be freer and more frequent on international affairs than on national or regional topics.

The breakdown of advertisements completes the picture of the Press. Of the total advertising revenue of Rs. 70,000,000—Rs. 50,000,000 for the dailies and Rs. 20,000,000 for the periodicals—about Rs. 27,800,000 was placed by advertising agencies, in 1951. The Commission gives a breakdown of the business handled by 34 advertising agencies, amounting to Rs. 22,600,000 in 1951. The bulk of this related to general consumer goods, being Rs. 17,100,000. This again works out to Rs. 3,541,000 on soaps, cosmetics, shaving accessories, hair oils, etc.; Rs. 3,274,000 on drugs, proprietary medicines and medical appliances; and Rs. 1,901,000 on food products, biscuits, chocolates and drinks. Some Rs. 5,471,000 are devoted to selling automobiles, refrigerators, clocks, watches and jewellery, and hotels, restaurants, hairdressers and photographers. Banking and insurance, cigarettes and tobacco, Textile clothing and footwear each brought in around Rs. 600,000, and the films along with other entertainment accounted for less than Rs. 500,000. Specialised advertising—machinery, fertilizers, industrial stores and goods—brought in Rs. 4,263,000. Government and institutional advertisements amounted to Rs. 1,141,000. Casual advertisements and some cinema advertisements were directly placed with the Press.

The Press Commission, from its angle of perception fixed on the influences working on the Press, failed to appreciate the advertiser's point of view. It laments that most of the consumer advertising is directed to the well-to-do and therefore flows to the English language papers; it regrets that textiles are not more advertised though they form a "very sizeable proportion of household budgets"; and it hopes that advertising in the district papers will increase as "even now there is scope for increasing the scope of classified advertising as well as the advertisements of local traders and manufacturers." While the reader may draw some consolation from the Commission's statement that in the final analysis he pays both for the copy of the paper he buys and for the advertisements of the goods that appear in it, the advertising agency has a responsibility to its client both for the selection of media and the approach to the public. Advertisements through agencies offer, generally speaking, the least biased approach to the problem of communications; nor can

it be made a matter of philanthropy or of patronage to small newspapers. The Commission is on firmer ground when it deals with the subject of government advertising. It refers to the presence of patronage in the bigger States—Bombay, West Bengal, the Punjab, Madhya Pradesh—and the dependence of newspapers of smaller States on government advertising. It draws pointed attention to the neglect of district and mofussil newspapers by the Government and the "weightage" given to the urban Press. It comments caustically on the advertisements of the "Grow More Food" campaign in urban newspapers and highlights many aspects of government advertising to bring out the arbitrary nature of its placing. It concludes with the observation that Indian language newspapers have not been sufficiently recognised by advertisers. Faced with practical difficulties in evening up inequalities between Indian language and English newspapers, district and urban newspapers, and so on, it involves itself in a number of suggestions which can well hinder the growth of an independent Press.

There is a great deal in all this to provoke discussion on the state of the Press. But, with only seven central and provincial legislators interested in the Press, it is but natural that the voluminous report of the Press Commission is neglected. Men who are not concerned to submit their own views on a subject, are hardly likely to plod through the writings of others, and blue books tend as a rule to frighten readers away. There is, however, one section of the Report which has attracted widespread attention—the section relating to working conditions, remuneration and benefits enjoyed by journalists. The Commission had some material to go upon; apart from the representations submitted by journalists and journalists' associations addressed directly to it, there were the reports of the Madhya Pradesh Inquiry Committee (1948) and the Uttar Pradesh Inquiry Committee (1950), and the awards of industrial tribunals in a number of cases. The Commission recommended that journalists should be included among industrial workers. Towards the end of 1955, the Working Journalists Act was adopted which gave effect to this recommendation and empowered the Central Government to set up a Wage Board to fix minimum wages for journalists. In May 1956, the Wage Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. H. V. Divatia with three representatives of employers and three working journalists. In May 1957, the Government released the recommendations of the Committee but in March

1958, the Supreme Court ruled that the decisions of the Wage Board were not based on considerations of capacity to pay and could not therefore stand. In June 1958, an Ordinance was promulgated setting up a Committee of officials to remedy the defect and directed it to regard the Wage Board decisions as the basis of inquiry. The Committee was asked to report within three months. In December 1958, the Committee's report was made public and a few months later it was adopted as the law.

The matter had been contested from even before 1954 when the Press Commission's Report was published. The constitution of the Commission in September 1952 with the directive to report within six months had created expectations in the minds of working journalists. The delay in submitting the report which could have been anticipated in view of the overloading of the terms of reference, had created a sense of exasperation. The postponement of the settling of scales of pay and defining of benefits by the Commission had caused further distress; and the Commission's action in leaving, with the consent of journalists' representatives on it, everything except minimum wages to collective bargaining had brought soaring hopes down. These had revived under the Government's larger terms of reference to the Wage Board it constituted; and again the delays brought on by the employers' resistance precipitated a crisis in the industry. It was again a case of

> . . . All say good words
> To who will hear, all do thereby bad deeds
> To who must undergo; so thrive mankind!

The net result of these five years was the total destruction of all interest in codes of journalism and all pride in the work; a general lowering of the status of journalist within the office and outside; and the virtual elimination of the editor as a moderating influence between journalist and proprietor. There can be no independent Press without a self-respecting Press, and the procedure pursued by a group of well-intentioned men had led directly to the downgrading of the Press and journalists as a class.

The Press Commission dealt rather obliquely with a problem of modern journalism—the dangerous drift towards meaninglessness. It referred to the decline in the status of the editor, particularly in the daily newspapers. It remarked:

> This decline is not entirely associated with the form of ownership. The gradual extinction of the individuality of the editor can be correlated, however, to the growth in the size of the newspaper and the volume and variety of its contents. The modern newspaper is such a complex production that it is not possible for any one individual to be personally responsible for every item that goes into it and to which he has given a special shape or form which would be distinctly his own. . . . The newspaper of today calls not merely for co-operative effort of a very large number of individuals but also for the investment of substantial sums and the employment of expensive machinery, and this, in turn, invests the managerial side with a greater responsibility in respect of the economic aspect than ever existed before. This growing importance of the economics of production has also contributed to bring about the gradual eclipse of the editor by the manager.

To rectify this and reverse the trend, it recommended that the editor be vested with administrative control over his staff, that appointments in the editorial department be made in consultation with him, and that all members of the staff be made to realise that they are working "towards a common goal under the leadership of the editor." Not having gone in detail into the intricate question of editor-proprietor relationship, the Commission has missed the main points and its recommendations are somewhat platitudinous. It gives some instances of proprietorial pressure on editors which superficially touch the problem, but, as it admits in one instance, it has not bothered to go into the details of the case. The decline in the status of the editor is primarily due to two causes: Firstly the modern editor has come to be, with the development of the newspaper into an industry, a business executive. The managing editor whom the Commission has rightly condemned, is an institution devised specially to tide over the conflicts between the earning and spending departments, which are always detrimental to team work in the editorial department. Let it not be forgotten that the business head of a newspaper who deals with sales and advertising every day, has little of the regard for the journalist which the general public have. He might make concessions to the editor because he needs his name, and political parties, specially when they are in power, prefer less spectacular methods than dismissal to quieten a newspaper. Conflicts between editor and the manage-

ment are never pitched battles; they are conducted in a series of strategic manoeuvres in which the editor as the more educated and sensitive of the two is ill-equipped to fight, specially when his staff, resentful of the preferential treatment accorded to him, is eager to pull him down.

From this arises the second cause of the editor's decline—the difficulty of getting rid of journalists who, however able, do not fit into the team and who, by reason of grievances real in some cases, are worked up to a pitch of suspicion detrimental to smooth working in any office. The requirement of charge-sheeting a journalist and piling up warnings and complaints contributes to dissension in the office. The All India Newspapers Editors Conference under the presidentship of Jagadish Natarajan pressed for adequate recognition of the editor's status. The subject, however, was taken up long after the need for it, and little interest has been shown in following it up. Neglect of it by editors themselves—editorships are few and no editor likes to consider himself expendable—has contributed to the deteriorating situation.

The Annual Reports of the Registrar of Newspapers not only give a comprehensive picture of the Press but offer some indication of recent trends. It is of course difficult to reach definite conclusions on many points because the Registrar with experience is improving his statistics. But with this warning it is possible to form a cautious opinion. On December 31, 1960, there were 8,026 newspapers and journals as compared to 7,651 the previous year. But the rise in circulation has been smaller owing to the Registrar counter-checking circulation claims by newspapers and correcting exaggerations. Some interesting details emerge from the breakdown into types of ownership, the language of publication and the circulation of the newspapers. About 44 per cent of the newspapers are in the hands of individual proprietors.

The chains, groups and multiple units increased in numbers, in the number of papers controlled by them and in their circulations. This is very significant because there has been in 1958-60 a trend towards divesting of chain ownership in order to reduce salary commitments. In 1958, the Ananda Patrika Ltd. sold out the Delhi edition of its *Hindustan Standard* and others were expected to follow. The Amrita Bazaar Patrika Ltd. and the Express Newspapers Ltd. were concerned with this subject but the situation in regard to them is not quite clear. The process of unchaining a chain is fraught

with many complications, not the least being legal action by the workers and the protracted proceedings before industrial tribunals which are interested in matters of continuity between the chain owners and the successor proprietors. The least trace of continuity prevents dismissals or salary reductions. Apparently the legal position has checked the break-up of multiple ownership. On the other hand, the biggest chain in India is held by the Communist Party which controls six dailies, eight weeklies, four fortnightlies, five monthlies and one annual.

Newspapers belonging to chains, groups and multiple units commanded 30 per cent of the total circulation of papers; and these controlled about 30 per cent of the dailies and 67.5 per cent of the circulation of the dailies. The total circulation stood at 18,200,000 which broke down into the following language figures:

Language	*Circulation*	*Number of Papers*
English	41,47,000	1,647
Hindi	35,83,000	1,532
Tamil	24,86,000	377
Gujerati	12,02,000	519
Malayalam	11,30,000	199
Marathi	10,71,000	404
Bengali	9,39,000	526
Urdu	10,55,000	680
Telugu	6,31,000	256
Kannada	4,49,000	210
Punjabi	2,03,000	135
Oriya	1,34,000	76
Assamese	52,000	16
Sanskrit	7,000	12

There were besides 825 bilingual papers and 187 multilingual papers. It might be added that there have been a large increase in regional language readership, a moderate increase in English readership and a small increase in Hindi and Urdu readership. Of the new papers started in 1960, a very small number were dailies—48 out of 1,024; of these again, more than 50 per cent were in Hindi (12) and Urdu (13).

The holding back of the Press Council Bill has worried Governments more than it has the Press of India. The expectation that the Council would obviate the necessity of invoking Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code as certain State Governments are prone

to do, was the primary cause of the various modifications introduced by the Government of India. The grading and classification of journalists and journals by the terms of the Wage Committee's decision have created fresh problems since new papers are allowed to engage staff at the lowest rates. Newspapers by the nature of their operations cannot be graded : Because no newspaper can exist satisfied with a low achievement, newspapers have to be prepared to pay well for good men; and it is a difficult task to induce managements to pay beyond the law's requirements without expecting immediate results.

The Press in India, even granted the inflation of the figures by including non-journalistic publications, has a firm foothold in the country. Every year more than 1,000 newspapers and periodicals are launched. More than this the strength of the Press is shown by incidents like the revival of the *Tribune* after losing everything in Lahore in the post-partition period, first at Simla and then at Ambala. It was a remarkable recovery in view of its having lost all in Lahore. Another index of inherent strength is the interest shown by working journalists in the constructive work of conducting a newspaper. Despite difficulties, these efforts are increasing, and, as they overcome the temptation to impose on their staff as a measure of self-denial the same deprivations suffered under proprietorial management, they will reach better prospects of survival. The growth of technical journalism is another encouraging feature of the Indian Press. In the words of James Silk Buckingham in another context, "the pleasure with which we regard these effusions, does not arise from the intrinsic value of these productions, but as an earnest of what it may produce when it has attained maturity." Conducted at present by men who lack technical knowledge, they indicate a broadening of interest in the journalist which bodes well for the future. There is also reason for satisfaction at the manner in which the English Press has kept its position while the Indian language Press has developed. Some of the leading Indian language newspapers are associated with English dailies and have taken over from them the critical spirit which is the most striking contribution of English to Indian national life. This may be inconvenient at times—specially to the bureaucrat—but it is the moving spirit of democracy. A practical benefit which deserves attention, is that the strength of the English Press will at no distant date lead to a raising of the working conditions of Indian language journalists. On the vexed

subject of Government-Press relations, the participation of the Government in developing industrial production ought to ensure its interest in a diversified Press. If it used that interest to attempt to keep out criticism, it will be helpful neither to planning nor democracy.

CHAPTER XXI

Inside Journalism

> We face opposite dangers. There is the danger that "principles" may be applied to cases they do not fit, or may extend into the realm of concrete arrangements, and may there be converted into too-rigid rules, acting as obstacles to needed adjustments. And there is the deeper danger that the roots of principle may be corroded away, to a sterile dust-bowl of conflicting interests and compromising expediencies.
>
> —JOHN M. CLARK

THE journalist has suffered many vicissitudes. The profession involved a good deal of pioneering in the nineteenth century. It attracted the same kind of men that teaching did, men with some basic idealism and a spirit of dedication. It offered little monetary return but it more than made up for this by taking its members out of the narrow world they lived in and widening their horizon. In course of time, the community came to recognize this and accorded the journalist a special place of his own. By gradual stages, he became respectable and sought after. The editor during this period was the main figure in journalism but he was after all only—among journalists—the first among equals.

Two developments served to change this picture—the development of business and the rise of the politician. Even so, to the outside world the journalist was still a force to be reckoned with, a personality to be wooed. Compromises which are necessary with the State, can after all be effected fairly quietly when they concern the Press. The wisdom of the early pioneers who insisted on running their newspapers as family concerns, became apparent when the less successful efforts to form a party Press led to the newspapers passing into the hands of businessmen. The transfer was beneficial to the staff in that it brought about regular conditions of service. But it was detrimental to the prestige of the journalist.

The editor, himself often a prominent party theoretician, often remained untouched. But one newspaper proprietor was fond of insisting rather indiscreetly, "He might be a hero to the public but I know what he really is;" and another, more harassed by a succes-

sion of editors, was equally frequent with the claim that it was the newspaper he owned that had built up the reputation of these men. As the Press became institutionalised, the journalist tended to become a cog in the wheel. The improvement in his material condition was just enough to make him feel how bad working conditions really were. The gap between the new proprietors' sense of satisfaction at regularising salary payments, instituting gratuity and provident funds and even providing medical and other facilities for the staff, on the one hand, and the working journalists' abiding sense of grievance at not receiving the whole benefit of the new prosperity that the war years (1939-45) brought, on the other, was never closed.

The awards of the industrial courts on newspaper and printing press disputes did not directly concern the working journalist but they exposed him to conflicts of a very serious nature. It is difficult at the best of times for one section in an office to remain unaffected by changes in all the others. It was more so as the editorial side came to be regarded as the spending part in contrast to the advertisement department, circulation and the printing press. Industrial courts faced with disputes between the employers and the printing staff often found themselves baffled by employers' claims during a dispute that little could be done for the latter unless proportionate benefits were extended to the rest, and employers' neglect of the others after the award was declared. It was not long before working journalists were brought under the Industrial Disputes Act.

But the interval had brought out several points adverse to the journalists themselves: The unionised workers in the press saw the benefits which they extorted, withheld from the editorial staff which had resisted all attempts to bring it too into the union field. At the same time. many working journalists began to appreciate the utility of unions, and soon they formed the majority of journalists outvoting the older men who clung to their prejudice against unions for the editorial staff. Editors, "promoted" to the position of business executives and better paid, found themselves isolated from their editorial staff. They were on the horns of a dilemma: If they claimed the right to appoint and dismiss, they became alienated from the staff; if they protested that they had no powers in these matters, they lost prestige all round.

Meanwhile, the growth of the Editors Conference, its phenomenal progress during the forties when restraints on executive excess were

sought at the sacrifice of editorial responsibility, and the predominance of the proprietorial interest in the Conference completed the downfall of the editor. The veteran K. Natarajan created a flutter at an emergency session of the Editors Conference by insisting that the editor must essentially be prepared to function as an autocrat. He was in the last analysis responsible, and he could not abdicate his responsibility either to fellow editors or to proprietors or to his staff, said Natarajan. The storm that the remarks provoked, showed how far the Press had travelled and where it was going in the next ten years of the unique 60-year mission of Natarajan in social reform and journalism.

Independence saw the almost total withdrawal of British journalism from India. Except for the solitary instance of the *Statesman* among the daily newspapers and of the *Capital* among journals, ownership of the great Anglo-Indian Press passed to Indian hands. The *Capital*, accepted as the organ of the British commercial community of Calcutta, occupies a unique place which, by its very nature, creates problems for the *Statesman*—for it is difficult for the British community in Calcutta not to consider the *Statesman* as its special organ. But, under able editorship, the *Statesman* has functioned as a national newspaper, more concerned with Indo-British relations than with British interests in India.

As a result of the withdrawal, Indian journalism, let it be admitted, has suffered grievously. The Anglo-Indian Press functioned on a high level of professional efficiency. The men recruited on its staff from England were, when they lasted out, journalists who not only knew their job but held strong views on the integrity of the profession. Moreover, they were listened to both by newspaper owners—their own as well as the others—and Indian publicists. Indian editors, again, being men who were involved in the political struggle, tended to take the view that the freedom of the Press was somehow less important after national independence. The suddenness of the Congress acceptance of partition and of the retention of the British connection effected at the top with little reference to the lesser leadership of the party also added to the confusion. Most Congress leaders, called upon to explain what had happened, withdrew from public appearances because this was beyond them, and the Press was left to comment on the development while Congressmen applied themselves to the exercise of political power. It was a service for which the Press received little thanks. The new

attitude towards the Press was well illustrated by the blunt remark of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel to Sadanand: "We are interested in newspapers which will support us wholeheartedly. To say you will support us when we are right is meaningless. For why should anyone oppose us then ?"

All this has a bearing on the condition of the profession. The anomaly of the members of a party newspaper being staunch supporters of another party is possible only where journalists are paid well. In other conditions, it is a dangerous luxury that the newspaper can ill afford. And Indian journalism is paid very poorly indeed, and provides very bad working conditions. Outside the big cities there were political broadsheets, where the editor did most of the work with a couple of undefined assistants. In the big cities, sports, commerce and the cinema demanded and received attention. These interests did not receive the sustained attention that the Anglo-Indian Press gave them, though the advertisement revenue entailed in cinema coverage ensured regularity if it bought off critical reviews. Commerce was entirely a matter of covering the speculative markets and shipping intelligence. There was nothing like a reference section to make the journalist feel any pride in his work.

With a low remuneration, with every compulsion to make himself generally useful rather than to specialise in anything, and with the boom in the industry in the forties, the Indian journalist had little to sustain him apart from a vague feeling that he had the power to put in a word for the right cause. Even this was taken away from him when with better organization the newspaper's enthusiasm for causes faded away. What remained was an abiding sense of grievance, a mood of frustration and a feeling that anything would do for his newspaper. It was to be expected that between the proprietorial element and the working journalist there would be a resulting hostility, and that in the newspaper office itself the worst spirit would prevail. The situation could have been retrieved had the proprietors taken a larger view and arrived at a direct settlement with their staff, avoiding references to industrial courts. They did not, and the record of the Press is amongst the most unenviable of industries.

It was with this background that the Press Commission had to set about its study of the Indian Press and frame its recommendations. The very fact that it had been set up, led to inflated hopes among

journalists and created even more unfavourable conditions than those that already existed. Despite the existence of the Registration of Newspapers Act, the Commission had considerable difficulty in sorting out the newspapers from advertising, trade, racing, and stock exchange journals. Even more baffling was the question of sorting out and classifying the different members of the editorial staff of Indian newspapers. Several members had joined newspapers without any designation; several had no other designation than that of reporter or sub-editor; practically none had received a letter of appointment. A difficulty of some practical importance was that many journalists had drifted from the general editorial department to special fields like sports, films or commerce—no consideration other than the ability of the general desk to do without them influencing the move. If there were to be specialised desks, had there to be special editors? If there had to be special editors, were these men who had been doing the job for five, ten or even fifteen years to be given the designation and the remuneration? On what ground could they be denied this?

The Press Commission and the Wage Committees which followed, did attempt some classification and standardisation, but did not deal with these questions. They were left to be handled by individual employers. But dismissal was made almost impossible and old newspapers were faced with the subject of meeting a higher salary bill and re-forming their staffs to fit a standard pattern. The proposals were not revolutionary—the basic wage, depending on the newspaper's revenue, varied from Rs. 65 to Rs. 125; and the dearness allowance, adjusted according to location, at the lowest level varied from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60; and the increments were modest on the whole.

What was significant about the Wage Committee's recommendations was the fact that they covered practically every single position in the editorial department—with the exception of the editor. Extremely low grades were fixed for new newspaper enterprises which were allowed to engage assistant editors, news editors, leader-writers, etc., at a basic salary of Rs. 125 a month. This was an absurdity which brought on its own nemesis. For no newspaper that comes into existence these days, can hope to secure competent men on these salaries, and no newspaper with the huge investment the enterprise involves will think of working with incompetent and inexperienced staff. But what is a strong temptation is for established

newspapers to seek relief from the imposition of enhanced salaries and retrospective payments by changes in ownership. Of course, practical conditions prevented the exploitation of the permitted lower grade but the proper grade designated by the Wage Committee's scheme could be avoided and the old salaries made to appear even generous against the obligations imposed on the lowest grade.

The journalist of today has gained little by the changes in the profession initiated by the Press Commission or by the publicity attendant on them. On the other hand, the better remuneration offered to new entrants has brought in a number of "passengers," thus nullifying the hope of the Wage Committee that "far better material than the existing staff can be obtained and there will, therefore, be substantial increase in the efficiency of most of the papers on the introduction of reasonable scales of pay." Efficiency in journalism has never been a qualification for entry into a newspaper office. Journalistic aptitude has been, and will to a large extent continue to be, an asset. But, while in the past an intruder could be harmlessly accommodated in an office and allowed to eke out his existence, now he has to be utilised—with consequent lowering of professional standards.

It is in establishments with a gross revenue of Rs. 25,00,000 and above that the attractions of the profession exist. But entry into the smaller units is also sought because of the possibility of stepping on from there to the bigger units later, and because the scope for direct appointment in the large newspapers is limited. Nor should it be forgotten that the bigger an establishment, the more it partakes of the character of large-scale industry and the more involved it is in licences and permits.

The Press Commission found that the best chances of success for a periodical publication exist when the proprietor owns a press and publishes a journal to provide work for idle capacity; and that difficulties arise when an editor or owner of a journal sets up a press for printing his publication. Not all newspapers and journals have their own printing press. But various estimates have been made of the cost of having a press which give some idea of the capital outlay involved. The Press Commission itself publishes as an appendix the calculations of Messrs. Bennett Coleman & Com-

pany which for Indian publications marks the upper limit, and the estimate for a mofussil daily newspaper by Mr. A. R. Bhatt which indicates, if anything, the lower side. The figures, it may be pointed out, relate to 1953-54 prices. Messrs. Bennett Coleman & Company do not furnish estimates for staff; Mr. Bhatt gives a complete picture, but keeping the figures to the minimum prescribed by the Press Commission. In 1959 this writer was asked to submit a tentative salary bill for a daily English newspaper in Bombay, having regard to the scales prevailing at the time in the leading newspapers. Since then, he has given estimates to various intending editors which have frightened away most of them. The All India Newspaper Editors Conference has also produced in 1960 an estimate for a monthly, worked out as a job work in Delhi at the prevailing rates.

The effect of all this is to deter everyone except the most adventurous and the most idealistic from venturing into journalism. It is worth looking into to see where it leads. Messrs. Bennett Coleman & Company place the capital outlay for a daily metropolitan or provincial English newspaper around Rs. 17,85,050 and for a similar Hindi newspaper at Rs. 12,30,300. The equipment could bear without addition the issue of a morning edition, one or two daks, an airmail edition and an afternoon newspaper as well. If the enterprise wished to publish an English daily and a Hindi daily as well, the capital outlay required would be around Rs. 19,35,050 or Rs. 10,00,000 less than for the two separately produced. It must be remembered that to this has to be added the salaries of managerial, press and editorial staff, the cost of newsprint and printing ink, etc., which will all depend on the size of the newspaper and the number of copies. Presuming, however, that no one will invest so much capital unless one intends to bring out a moderately attractive product, the maintenance costs might well add up to some Rs. 5,00,000 a year for the English and Rs. 2,50,000 for the Hindi newspaper. This should require resources around Rs. 25,00,000 for the English, and Rs. 20,00,000 for the Hindi.

Mr. Bhatt's figures are more modest and they have the merit of covering the full commitment. Mr. Bhatt takes the specific example of a Marathi daily round Poona which publishes six days a week and takes ten more days off in the year. It has four standard size pages and prints some 12,000 copies. If the newspaper sets up its own press, then the initial outlay will be around Rs. 2,20,000,

and an annual expenditure of Rs. 2,50,000. Without a press, the cost is around Rs. 2,40,000 a year.

The All India Newspaper Editors Conference after an inquiry with Delhi printing presses calculated that at rates prevailing in 1960 a monthly 24-page journal (size 10½″ by 8½″) would cost around Rs. 18,000 a year. This did not include the Editor's remuneration which even as an honorarium of Rs. 350 a month would add over Rs. 4,000 a year to the cost.

During 1960, considerable interest in floating a weekly in Bombay was shown and estimates were made of the probable expenses. Taking the popular size in Bombay (21″ by 17″), the costs excluding the editor's salary was conservatively placed at Rs. 65,000 for a 16-page paper and Rs. 80,000 for a 24-page paper per year.

So much for the expenditure side. On the revenue angle, the prospect is pretty bleak. Most big advertising comes through advertising agencies which are naturally concerned with circulation and readership. Only at the specific request of the advertiser can an agency take space in a new venture, and with the present conditions big advertisers are not normally disposed to ignore the public—to which, it must be remembered, all advertising is addressed. Recently, the head of one of our leading advertising agencies remarked to me, "We are concerned with the number of persons reached by our advertisement. And, considered from this angle, some of the most expensive advertising media come to be the cheapest. A new venture necessarily starts with a small circulation. It cannot expect to raise enough advertising revenue in its first few years to cover its costs. And this is just when it needs support. Much as I may personally admire the idealist who feels he must venture into journalism, I shall not be able to support him."

The Government of India has repeatedly declared its interest in the medium and small newspaper. So have the Press Commission and the various wage committees. Despite good intentions, however, the big newspapers are growing bigger and the medium and small ones are experiencing difficulties as prices of newsprint and salaries rise. One development that has followed as a result of the Working Journalists Wage Committee Report is the break-up of newspaper chains—because weaker members of the chain have to pay higher salaries than they would have to as separate newspapers. Dr. B. V. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, disclosed in Parliament in March 1961 that the largest chain of news-

papers in India now obtaining was owned by the Communist Party which ran a number of dailies, weeklies and monthlies all over the country.

Since with commercial advertising coming increasingly under the control of the agencies the bulk of the newspaper revenue goes to the big newspapers, it is to be expected that the trend will continue. The Government's policy of gathering all government advertising in the hands of the Directorate of Visual Advertising and Publicity is justified on the ground that effect can be given to its policy of encouraging small ventures in journalism. But it would be rash to expect too much from this. Once the main consideration of reaching the maximum number of the public is abandoned for other purposes, the danger of regarding advertising as patronage arises and it need not be said that Government's patronage of the Press is a danger to be avoided scrupulously. A new publication, it might be mentioned, faces almost insurmountable difficulties at the very start: It has to find its own newsprint from some months before it can acquire a quota. And it will have to be at least six months in existence before it can expect a fair share of either government or commercial advertising. Then again the new interest in profits shown in government undertakings and the necessity for economy felt by business houses which under a succession of budgets have to meet more taxes and expect less exemptions, will necessarily reduce the quantum of advertising. Moreover, there are other advertising media that are rapidly coming up and claiming their share of the available revenue.

This does not mean that advertising is not to be had for a new venture. It does mean that much of it has to be secured on a personal appeal. But, since even for a weekly the resources needed are around Rs. 2,00,000, it is clear that the effort is beyond the scope of most persons. An exception, however, must be made in favour of technical journals which have some prospect of securing support at present owing to the paucity of technical-scientific literature in the country. It is also necessary to state here that the better technical journals are conducted by established newspaper houses which have the printing, distribution and managerial facilities to sustain their ventures. Ambitious experiments in the field of journalism have been attempted in 1961 by two of the larger newspaper houses—both in Bombay—in floating commercial dailies. *The Economic Times* (associate of the *Times of India*) and the *Financial*

Express (associate of the *Indian Express*) both made their first appearance in March 1961—a tribute to the industrial development of the country in a decade of planned economy. This has been the most spectacular development in Indian journalism since Independence. In the forties, an attempt was made by the *Bharat*, when it found the field of political journalism overgrown in Bombay, to turn to commercial journalism. In 1959, the *Bombay Chronicle* ended its career, and an effort was again made to interest business in its revival as a daily newspaper devoted to industry and commerce. In both cases, the failure was due to the apathy of business. The present ventures are different because they are launched by successful journalistic enterprises which have the required strength behind them. Their future depends on the degree of support they are able to attract from industrial houses.

It is not only to new journalistic publications that successful newspaper houses are turning their minds. Newsprint manufacture has been taken up by the industrialists behind the *Times of India*. More significant are the efforts to build up news agencies, linked with well-known world services, that are being made. On March 22, 1961, the United News of India made its first appearance. Registered in Delhi, this undertaking sponsored by leading newspapers which are influential members of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Proprietors Society, means to distribute Associated Press of America news and to build up an efficient domestic service. There has also been a move under the auspices of the *Times of India* and the *Indian Express* to launch another comprehensive service. It might be mentioned that both these newspapers are also prominent members of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Proprietors Society.

The point is important because the Press Trust of India is itself owned by Indian newspapers and, since Directors of the two new companies are on the Board of Directors of the Press Trust of India, the decision to launch new agencies should imply dissatisfaction with the working of the Press Trust of India. Mr. B. V. Keskar, Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting, has added to the bewilderment by extending his congratulations to the United News of India, making a special reference to the soundness of its constitution. As a number of inquiries into the financial aspects of the working of P.T.I. have found, its main difficulty has been

under-capitalisation. It has given its service to member-subscribers at uneconomic rates. It has not been able to raise its rates because its members, who are also the main consumers, will not accept higher rates. In the circumstances, the resolution of the P.T.I. Board requiring its directors not to associate themselves with any other news agency has failed to be respected. Moreover, several past and present employees of the Press Trust have been taken over by the new agencies.

The Government of India's policy of discouraging world agencies from operating in India took one more step when it frowned on newspapers coming to an arrangement with some of these agencies to use their despatches. This was the immediate cause of the new agencies coming into existence. Moreover, while, on the one hand, the government foreign policy of non-involvement calls for easy access to information, the policy with regard to news distribution has been restrictive with regard to the foreign news services. All India Radio, one of the buyers of news services, is always called on to justify subscriptions to services other than that of the Press Trust, and members of Parliament have shown themselves very sensitive to the "duplication" entailed in taking more world services than one. Any development that gives access to more sources of information, is to be welcomed. But from the point of view of developing news agencies, it would be far better to encourage foreign agencies to come in directly than to bring them in by the back-door. How much we have yet to learn about news agencies is brought out by the contention of several newspaper proprietors that reporting for a news agency is not more arduous than reporting for a newspaper. This has been the plea of most Directors of the P.T.I. before wage boards and tribunals.

It is a common remark among Bombay newspapermen that what ails the Bombay Press is that, with just enough trained personnel to run one newspaper, we here are supporting three or four. With the new developments in the world of news agencies, we are heading for a very similar condition there too. While it is desirable that there should be more than one news agency serving newspapers, it is important that one agency at least should be efficient. The intention of those who could have done something with the Press Trust of India, in going out to establish other news agencies is not very clear.

For the majority of newspapers in India, the main source of

foreign news is not the agency; the various information services of foreign governments supply material, the usefulness of which depends very much on circumstances often quite unconnected with its intrinsic merit. The visible sign of how this material is used is sometimes found in the best conducted newspapers when extravagant claims made by some country find their way into print. There are about 25 newspapers in India subscribing to the full service of the Press Trust of India, which indicates the possibilities open to official publicity departments. The Press Information Bureau of the Government of India and the Publicity Departments of the States provide a large amount of copy. The latter's releases find much greater space in metropolitan newspapers than even the editorial desk releases, owing to the dependence of district correspondence on publicity officers.

As one surveys the field of Indian journalism, the fact that impresses itself most is the strength of the writing side as contrasted with the reporting and sub-editing departments. We still find on the editorial staff the odd person who has to be used as a writer though he cannot write; but it is exceptional in the English language Press and almost non-existent in the language Press. The work of the sub-editor has become vastly easier, thanks to the introduction of the teleprinter and the general neglect of journalistic abbreviations by correspondents. The better-paid English sub-editor is under no necessity, as his Indian language counterpart faced with translation problems is, to understand the copy he is handling. It is significant that, in the analysis carried out by the Press Commission of newspaper comments, it is repeatedly stressed that misrepresentations occur owing to "hasty translation." The practice of specialisation too is growing, at any rate in the metropolitan newspapers, and the general sub-editor is not required to deal with commercial or sports copy. The elimination of considerable drudgery, however, in the past thirty years has not resulted in better sub-editing.

On the reporting side, the scope has considerably lessened as most State Governments channel their material through publicity departments and since there is far more sharing among reporters than attempts at securing scoops. Local reporting, it might even be said, is a lost art; and, if any new recruit shows enthusiasm,

he will soon be brought into line by the reporting fraternity. It would be a difficult task to find today reporters who know shorthand —none of these, I am sure, find much use for it. It has often been said to me, however, that one reason for the lack of interest shown by reporters is the failure of most newspaper offices to pay any attention to reporting. At best, there is a cursory glance to see if any items are missing and the comparative coverage given in rival newspapers. But too often the main criterion is the length of the writing, and soon the reporter ceases to exert himself.

For all this the blame must be placed on the working conditions in a newspaper office. In estimates it is usual to set apart a sum for building up a library and a reference section. In actual practice, this item is generally saved. Nothing is more alarming than to visit an Indian newspaper office when the death of some prominent Indian has occurred. Everything seems to have gone to pieces as the editorial department engages in a frantic search for biographical material, even when the event has been expected well in advance. I was once participating in a symposium on journalism organised by the British Council. One of my colleagues was C. R. Mandy of the *Illustrated Weekly of India*. Feeling evidently that he had done his bit, he loudly prompted me to say something about "our shocking libraries and librarians." I turned to him and saw him frantically urging me on. Then I said, "Mr. Mandy is one of the fortunate ones and he does not know it. The rest of us do not complain about something we do not have or which we build up book by book with infinite patience."

The other defect is, now much less than in the past when more persons were attracted by the glamour of journalism, apprenticeship. The various well-meant proposals to improve the position of apprentices ignore a basic fact—newspapers generally have little time to undertake any training apart from the very useful one of putting the trainee to work. For this there is hardly any need to tolerate the system of apprenticeship which in plain language is just securing additional staff for small outlays. The Working Journalists' Wage Committee has drawn a subtle and meaningless distinction between the "apprentice" and the "probationer" without defining the "probationer" but the "probationer" is ensured a basic minimum salary and a dearness allowance and probation is limited to one year, while the "apprentice" is not an employee and can be made to serve for two long years. It is strange that

a committee which had considerable information about the Press in India, should have overlooked the fundamental need for ensuring the proper training of apprentices—the existence of a full complement of regular staff to do the training, the assurance of employment in the office at the end of the apprenticeship, and the provision of some stipend during the training. Personally, I would do away with apprenticeships completely and limit the period of probation to six months at the most. If a newspaper management is not able to make up its mind about an employee within that period, the fault surely lies not with the employee but the management—and there is no reason why the employee should suffer for it.

No one today will ask if journalism in India has a future. The spread of literacy, the quickening interest in the developing world and the habit of beginning the day with the newspaper all ensure that newspapers in India will sell more than they have done before. The question what kind of future it will have is more difficult to answer. As salaries increase and working conditions improve, it is hoped that we shall have better newspapers. The various bodies inquiring into the Indian Press have all been impressed by the steady rise of the bigger newspapers and the difficulty faced by small and medium ones to keep publishing. The strange phenomenon of metropolitan newspapers overwhelming regional publications needs some explaining apart from the better resources, better coverage, and better production and distribution facilities they command. The simplest explanation is that Indians have not yet come to look upon the Press as something of intimate relation to themselves. As this feeling grows—and there are signs that it is not very far away—the extraneous provisions concerning working conditions, training facilities and the like will fall into their proper place and yield worthwhile results. For in the last resort a people will get the kind of Press they ask for.

"There are three things to be considered about an organization: what it offers to the public, what it offers to its own rank and file, and what it offers to its leaders. The last of these too often, in practice, outweighs the other two." So remarked Bertrand Russell. The Indian Press reached the threefold satisfaction during the Gandhian period. It might be now said to have reached the stage of all round frustration. Optimistically it may be argued that

never before has there been so much understanding of what the Press should be—as a source of revenue, as a means of employment and as a channel of communication. A more realistic estimate would be that the interests of the leaders and the rank and file are subverting the interests of the public and that the conflicts of the two are endangering the freedom of the Press. A condition that would ordinarily settle itself into some form of equilibrium where the public interest would not be altogether lost, is rendered menacing because of the active interest of the Government in the many-sided activities of the newspaper, the printing press, and the auxiliary organisations. But the threat is also a challenge. And, bearing in mind the record of the past, we can look forward to an appreciation of the need for remedial action from within—preferably before the false panaceas have run their course but most certainly after.

APPENDIX I

Press Legislation

LEGISLATION relating to printing establishments and newspapers is reprinted below. There are two main measures—the Adam Regulations of 1823 and the Metcalfe Act of 1835. The Press Act of 1867 retained the broad basis of the Metcalfe Act, was modified in 1890, and amended periodically it is the law that obtains today. The Canning Act of 1857 was a temporary provision for one year to meet an emergency. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was repealed in its fourth year.

I

A. REGULATION OF THE PRESS ORDINANCE, 1823

Whereas matters tending to bring the government of this country, as by law established, into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, have of late been frequently printed and circulated in newspapers, and other papers published in Calcutta; for the prevention whereof, it is deemed expedient to regulate by law, the printing and publication within the settlement of Fort William, in Bengal, of newspapers, and of all magazines, registers, pamphlets, and other printed books and papers, in any language or character, published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news, and intelligence or strictures on the acts, measures, and proceedings of government, or any political events or transactions whatsoever.

First. Be it therefore ordained, by the authority of the Governor-General in Council, of and for the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, at and within the said settlement or factory of Fort William, in Bengal aforesaid, by and in virtue of, and under the authority of a certain Act of Parliament made and passed in the 13th year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, entitled, 'An Act for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe'; and by a certain other Act of Parliament made and passed in the 40th year of the reign of his said Majesty King George the Third, entitled, 'An Act for establishing

further regulations for the government of the British territories in India, and the better administration of justice within the same,' that fourteen days after the due registry and publication of this rule, ordinance, and regulation in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal, with the consent and approbation of the said Supreme Court, if the said Supreme Court shall in its discretion approve of and consent to the registry and publication of the same, no person or persons shall, within the said settlement of Fort William, print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, any newspaper or magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper whatsoever, in any language or character whatsoever, published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news and intelligence or strictures on the acts, measures, and proceedings of government, or any political events or transactions whatsoever, without having obtained a license for that purpose from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the chief secretary of government for the time being, or other person officiating and acting as such chief secretary.

Second. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid that every person applying to the Governor-General in Council for such licence as aforesaid, shall deliver to the chief secretary of government for the time being, or other person acting or officiating as such, an affidavit, specifying and setting forth the real and true names, additions, descriptions, and places of abode of all and every person or persons who is or are intended to be the printer and printers, publisher and publishers, of the newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper in the said affidavit named, and of all the proprietors of the same, if the number of such proprietors exclusive of the printers and publishers does not exceed two; and in case the same shall exceed such number, then of two of the proprietors resident within the presidency of Fort William, and places thereto subordinate, who hold the largest shares therein, and the true description of the house or building wherein any such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper as aforesaid is intended to be printed, and likewise the title of such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper.

Third. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that every such affidavit shall be in writing, and signed by the person or persons making the same, and shall be taken without any cost or charge

by any justice of the peace acting in and for the town of Calcutta.

Fourth. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that where the persons concerned as printers and publishers of any such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper as aforesaid, together with such number of proprietors as are hereinbefore required to be named in such affidavit as aforesaid shall not altogether exceed the number of four persons, the affidavit hereby required shall be sworn and signed by all the said persons who are resident in or within twenty miles of Calcutta; and when the number of such persons shall exceed four, the same shall be signed and sworn by four of such persons if resident in or within twenty miles of Calcutta, or by so many of them as are so resident.

Fifth. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid that an affidavit or affidavits of the like nature and import shall be made, signed, and delivered in like manner as often as any of the printers, publishers, or proprietors named in such affidavit or affidavits shall be changed, or shall change their respective places of abode, or their printing-house, place, or office, and as often as the title of such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper shall be changed, and as often as the Governor-General in Council shall deem it expedient to require the same; and that when such further and new affidavit as last aforesaid shall be so required by the Governor-General in Council, notice thereof signed by the said chief secretary, or other person acting and officiating as such, shall be given to the persons named in the affidavit to which the said notice relates as the printers, publishers, or proprietors of the newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper in such affidavit named, such notice to be left at such place as is mentioned in the affidavit last delivered as the place at which the newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper to which such notice shall relate is printed, and in failure of making such affidavit in the said several cases aforesaid required, that such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper, shall be deemed and taken to be printed and published without license.

Sixth. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that every license which shall and may be granted in manner and form aforesaid, shall and may be resumed and recalled by the Governor-General in Council; and from and immediately after notice in

writing of such recall, signed by the said chief secretary, or other person acting and officiating as such, shall have been given to the person or persons to whom the said license or licenses shall have been granted, such notice to be left at such place as is mentioned in the affidavit last delivered as the place at which the newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper to which such notice shall relate is printed, the said license or licenses shall be considered null and void, and the newspapers, magazines, registers, pamphlets, printed books and papers to which such license or licenses relate shall be taken and considered as printed and published without license; and whenever any such license as aforesaid shall be revoked and recalled, notice of such revocation and recall shall be forthwith given in the government gazette for the time being published in Calcutta.

Seventh. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid that if any person within the said settlement of Fort William, shall knowingly and wilfully print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, or shall knowingly and wilfully, either as a proprietor thereof, or as agent or servant of such proprietor or otherwise, sell, vend, or deliver out, distribute, or dispose of, or if any bookseller or proprietor or keeper of any reading-room, library, shop, or place of public resort, shall knowingly and wilfully receive, lend, give, or supply, for the purpose of perusal or otherwise, to any person whatsoever, any such newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper as aforesaid, such license as is required by this rule, ordinance, and regulation not having been first obtained, or after such license, if previously obtained, shall have been recalled as aforesaid, such person shall forfeit for every such offence a sum not exceeding sicca rupees 400.

Eighth. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid that all offences committed, and all pecuniary forfeitures and penalties had or incurred under or against this rule, ordinance, and regulation, shall and may be heard, adjudged, and determined by two or more of the aforesaid justices of the peace, who are hereby empowered and authorized to hear and determine the same, and to issue their summons or warrant for bringing the party or parties complained of before them; and upon his or their appearance, or contempt and default, to hear the parties, examine witnesses, and to give judgment or sentence according, as in and by this rule, ordinance, and regulation is ordained and directed; and to

award and issue out warrants, under their hands and seals, for the levying of such forfeitures and penalties as may be imposed upon the goods and chattels if they shall not be redeemed within six days, rendering to the party the overplus (if any be) after deducting the amount of such forfeiture or penalty, and the costs and charges attending the levying thereof; and in case sufficient distress shall not be found, and such forfeitures and penalties shall not be forthwith paid, it shall and may be lawful for such justices of the peace, and they are hereby authorized and required, by warrant or warrants under their hands and seals, to cause such offender or offenders to be committed to the common gaol of Calcutta, there to remain for any time not exceeding four months, unless such forfeitures and penalties, and all reasonable charges, shall be sooner paid and satisfied; and that all the said forfeitures, when paid or levied, shall be from time to time paid into the treasury of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and be employed and disposed of according to the order and directions of his Majesty's said justices of the peace at their general quarter sessions or other sessions.

Ninth. Provided always, and be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, that nothing in this rule, ordinance, and regulation contained, shall be deemed or taken to extend or apply to any printed book or paper containing only shipping intelligence, advertisements of sales, current prices of commodities, rates of exchange, or other intelligence solely of a commercial nature.

B. REGULATION OF PRINTING ESTABLISHMENTS, 1823

Whereas it is deemed expedient to prohibit within the territories immediately subordinate to the presidency of Fort William, the future establishment of printing presses, and the use of any such presses, or of types or other materials for printing, except with the previous sanction and license of Government, and under suitable provisions to guard against abuse.

And whereas it may be judged proper to prohibit the circulation within the territories aforesaid, of particular newspapers, printed books, or papers of any description, whether the same may be printed in the town of Calcutta, or elsewhere; the following rules have been enacted, to be in force from the date of their promulgation, within the territories immediately subordinate to the presidency of Fort William.

I. *The printing of books and papers, and the use of printing presses, prohibited, except with the license of Government (violation of this rule how punishable).*

No person shall print any book or paper, or shall keep or use any printing press or types, or other materials or articles for printing, without having obtained the previous sanction and license of the Governor-General in Council for that purpose; and any person who shall print any book or paper, or shall keep or use any printing press or types, or other materials or articles for printing, without having obtained such license, shall be liable, on conviction before the magistrate, or joint magistrates of the jurisdiction in which such offence may be committed, to a pecuniary fine not exceeding 1,000 rupees, commutable, if not paid, to imprisonment without labour, for a period not exceeding six months.

II. *Unlicensed printing presses to be attached by the magistrates, and may be disposed of as the Government may direct (under what circumstances magistrates may issue warrants for the search of houses).*

The magistrate and joint magistrates are further authorized and directed to seize and attach all printing presses and types, and other materials or articles for printing, which may be kept or used within their respective jurisdictions without the permission and license of Government, and to retain the same (together with any printed books or papers found on the premises) under attachment, to be confiscated, or otherwise disposed of as the Governor-General in Council (to whom an immediate report shall be made in all such cases) may direct; and if any magistrate or joint magistrates shall, on credible evidence, or circumstances of strong presumption, have reason to believe that the unlicensed printing presses or types, or other materials or articles kept for printing, are kept or used in any house, building, or other place, he is authorized to issue his warrant to the police officers to search for the same, in the mode prescribed in the rules for the entry and search of dwelling-houses, contained in Clauses V, VI, and VII. Section XVL. Regulation XX, 1817.

III. *Persons desirous of keeping or using printing presses, have to apply for a license, circumstances to be specified in the application, and how to be verified.*

Whenever any person or persons shall be desirous of keeping or using any printing press or types, or other materials or articles

for printing, he or they shall state the same, by a written application to the magistrate or joint magistrates of the jurisdiction, in which it may be proposed to establish such printing press. The application shall specify the real and true name and profession, caste or religion, age and place of abode, of every person or persons who are (or are intended to be) the printers and publishers, and the proprietors of such printing press or types, or other materials or articles for printing, and the place where such printing press is to be established, and the facts so stated in the application shall be verified on oath, or on solemn obligation, by the persons therein named as the printers, publishers, or proprietors, or by such of them as the magistrate or joint magistrates may think it expedient to select for that purpose.

IV. *Application to be forwarded to Government, who will grant or withhold the license.*

The magistrate or joint magistrates shall then forward a copy of such application (with a translation, if it be not in the English language) to the Governor-General in Council, who, after calling for any further information which may be deemed necessary, will grant or withhold the license at his discretion.

V. *The condition which may be annexed to such license, to be communicated both verbally and in writing to the parties concerned.*

If the license shall be granted, the magistrate or joint magistrates will deliver the same to the parties concerned, and will apprize them, both verbally and in writing, of the conditions which Government may in each instance think proper to attach to such license.

VI. *Power of recalling such licenses reserved to Government—Notices of recall how to be served.*

The Governor-General in Council reserves to himself the full power of recalling and resuming any such license, whenever he may see fit to do so; such recall will be communicated by the magistrate, or joint magistrates, by a written notice, to be delivered at the house, office, or place named in the application as that at which the printing press was to be established or at any other house, office or place, to which such printing press may, with the previous knowledge and written sanction of the magistrate, or joint magistrates, have been intermediately removed.

VII. *Penalties attaching to persons who may use such printing presses after notice of recall.*

Any person or persons who, after such notice being duly served, shall use, or cause or allow to be used, such printing presses, or types, or other materials or articles for printing, shall be subject to the penalties prescribed in Section II of this regulation; and the printing presses, types, and other materials or articles for printing, together with all printed books and papers found on the premises, shall be seized, attached, and disposed of, in the manner prescribed in Section III of this Regulation.

VIII. *The first and last pages of books and papers printed at a licensed press, to contain certain specifications.*

A copy of every book and paper, printed at a licensed press, to be forwarded to the magistrate, and by him to Government; all books and papers which may be printed at a press duly licensed by Government, shall contain, on the first and last pages, in legible characters, in the same language and character as that in which such book or paper is printed, the name of the printer, and of the city, town, or place, at which the book or paper may be printed; and of every book and paper printed at such licensed press, one copy shall be immediately forwarded to the local magistrate, or joint magistrates, who will pay for such books or papers the same prices as are paid by other purchasers; all such books and papers, if printed in the English or other European languages, shall be forwarded by the magistrate, or joint magistrates, to the office of the Chief Secretary to Government, and if printed in any Asiatic language, to the office of the Secretary to Government in the Persian department.

IX. *Notice how to be given.*

If the circulation of any newspapers or printed book shall be prohibited by Government; if the Governor-General in Council shall at any time deem it expedient to prohibit the circulation, within the territories immediately subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, of any particular newspaper, or printed book, or paper of any description (whether the same be printed in the town of Calcutta or elsewhere), immediate notice of such prohibition will be given in the Government Gazette, in the English, Persian, and Bengalee languages; the officers of Government, both civil and military, will also be officially apprized of such prohibition and will be directed to give due publicity to the same, within the range of their official influence and authority.

X. *The wilful circulation of such prohibited papers, how punish-*

able if the offence be committed by persons subject to the authority of the Zillah and City Courts.

Any person subject to the authority of the Zillah and City Courts, who, after notice of such prohibition, shall knowingly and wilfully circulate, or cause to be circulated, sell, or cause to be sold, or deliver out and distribute, or in any manner cause to be distributed, at any place within the territories subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, any newspaper, or any printed book or paper of any description, so prohibited, shall, on conviction before the magistrate, or joint magistrates, of the jurisdiction in which the offence may be committed, be subject, for the first offence to a fine not exceeding one hundred rupees, commutable, if not paid, to imprisonment without labour for a period not exceeding two months; and for the second, and each and every subsequent offence, to a fine not exceeding two hundred rupees, commutable to imprisonment without hard labour for a period not exceeding four months.

XI. *The offence how punishable if committed by a person not subject to these Courts.*

If the person who may commit the offence described in the previous section, shall not be amenable to the authority of the local magistrate, or joint magistrates, the Governor-General in Council will adopt such measures for enforcing the prohibition, notified in pursuance of Section X as may appear just and necessary.

XII. *Judgment passed by magistrates under this Regulation to be reported to Government.*

All judgments, for fines given by the magistrates, and joint magistrates, under this regulation, shall be immediately reported (with a copy and abstract translation of the proceedings held in each case) for the information and orders of the Governor-General in Council, who reserves to himself a discretion of remitting or reducing the fine in any instance in which he may judge it proper to do so.

II

REGISTRATION OF THE PRESS ACT, 1835

I. Be it enacted, that from the fifteenth day of September, 1835, the four Regulations, hereinafter specified, be repealed.

1st—A Regulation for preventing the establishment of printing

presses without license, and for restraining under certain circumstances, the circulation of printed books and papers, passed by the Governor-General in Council on the 5th April, 1823.

2nd—A Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation for the good order and Civil Government of the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal, passed in Council 14th March, Registered in the Supreme Court of Judicature 4th April, 1823.

3rd—A Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation for preventing the mischief arising from the printing and publishing of Newspapers and Periodical and other books and papers by persons unknown, passed by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council of Bombay, on the 2nd day of March 1825, and Registered in the Hon'ble the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, under date the 11th May, 1825.

4th—A Regulation for restricting the establishment for printing presses and the circulation of printed books and papers, passed by the Governor of Bombay in Council on the 1st of January, 1827.

II. *1st*—And be it enacted, that after the said fifteenth day of September, 1835, no printed Periodical work whatever, containing public news or comments on public news, shall be published within the Territories of the East India Company, except in conformity with the rules hereinafter laid down.

2nd—The Printer and the Publisher of every such Periodical work shall appear before the Magistrate of the Jurisdiction within which such work shall be published and shall make and subscribe in duplicate the following declaration:

"I, A. B., declare that I am the Printer (or Publisher, or Printer and Publisher) of the Periodical work entitled ———— and printed (or published, or printed and published) at ————."

And the last blank in this form of declaration, shall be filled up with a true and precise account of the premises where the printing or publication is conducted.

3rd—As often as the place of printing or publication is changed, a new declaration shall be necessary.

4th—As often as the Printer or the Publisher, who shall have made such declaration as is aforesaid, shall leave the Territories of the East India Company, a new declaration from a Printer or Publisher resident within the said Territories, shall be necessary.

III. And be it enacted that whoever shall print or publish any such Periodical work, as is hereinbefore described, without con-

forming to the rules hereinbefore laid down, or whoever shall print or publish, or shall cause to be printed or published any such Periodical work, knowing that the said rules have not been observed with respect to that work, shall, on conviction, be punished with fine to an amount not exceeding Five Thousand Rupees, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

IV. And be it enacted that each of the two originals of every declaration so made and subscribed, as is aforesaid, shall be authenticated by the signature and official seal of the Magistrate before whom the said declaration shall have been made, and one of the said originals shall be deposited among the records of the office of the said Magistrate, and the other original shall be deposited among the records of the Supreme Court of Judicature, or other King's Court within the jurisdiction of which the said declaration shall have been made. And the Officer in charge of each original shall allow any person to inspect that original on payment of a fee of One Rupee, and shall give to any person applying a copy of the said declaration attested by the Seal of the Court which has the custody of the original, on payment of a fee of Two Rupees.

V. And be it enacted, that in any legal proceeding whatever, Civil as well as Criminal, the production of a copy of such a declaration, as is aforesaid, attested by the Seal of some Court empowered by this Act to have the custody of such declarations, shall be held (unless the contrary be proved) to be sufficient evidence, as against the person whose name shall be subscribed to such declaration that the said person was Printer, or Publisher, or Printer and Publisher (according as the words of the said declaration may be) of every portion of every Periodical work whereof the title shall correspond with the title of the Periodical work mentioned in the said declaration.

VI. Provided always that any person who may have subscribed any such declaration as is aforesaid, and who may subsequently cease to be the Printer (or Publisher, or Printer and Publisher) of the Periodical work mentioned in such a declaration, may appear before any Magistrate and make and subscribe in duplicate the following declaration:

"I, A. B., declare that I have ceased to be the Printer (or Publisher or Printer and Publisher) of periodical entitled——————."

And each original of the latter declaration shall be authenticated by the Signature and Seal of the Magistrate before whom the said latter declaration shall have been made, and one original of

the said latter declaration shall be filled along with each original of the former declaration: and the Officer in charge of each original of the latter declaration, shall allow any person applying to inspect that original on payment of a fee of One Rupee, and shall give to any person applying a copy of the said latter declaration attested by the Seal of the Court having custody of the original, on payment of a fee of Two Rupees: and in all trials in which a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the former declaration, shall have been put in evidence it shall be lawful to put in evidence a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the latter declaration: and the former declaration shall not be taken to be evidence that the declarant was at any period subsequent to the date of the latter declaration, Printer or Publisher of the Periodical work therein mentioned.

VII. And be it enacted, that every book or paper printed after the said fifteenth day of September, 1835, within the Territories of the East India Company, shall have printed legibly on it, the name of the Printer and of the Publisher, and the place of printing and of publication; and whoever shall print or publish any book or paper otherwise than in conformity with this rule, shall, on conviction, be punished by fine to an amount not exceeding Five Thousand Rupees, and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

VIII. And be it enacted, that after the said fifteenth day of September 1835, no person shall, within the Territories of the East India Company, keep in his possession any Press for the printing of books or papers who shall not have made and subscribed the following declaration before the Magistrate of the jurisdiction wherein such Press may be; and whoever shall keep in his possession any such Press without making such a declaration, shall, on conviction, be punished by fine to an amount not exceeding Five Thousand Rupees, and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

"I, A.B., declare that I have a Press for printing at ——————."
And this last blank shall be filled up with a true and precise description of the premises where such Press may be.

IX. And be it enacted, that any person who shall, in making any declaration under the authority of this Act, knowingly affirm an untruth, shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by fine to an amount not exceeding Five Thousand Rupees and imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

III

PRESS ACT OF 1857

An Act to regulate the establishment of printing presses and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers.

Whereas it is expedient to prohibit the keeping or using of printing presses, types or other materials for printing in any part of the territories in the possession or under the Government of the East India Company, except with the previous sanction and license of Government, and under suitable provisions to guard against abuse; and whereas it may be deemed proper to prohibit the circulation, within the said territories, of newspapers, books or other printed papers of a particular description: It is enacted as follows:

I. No person shall keep any printing press or types, or other materials or articles for printing, without having obtained the previous sanction and license for that purpose of the Governor-General of India in Council, or of the Executive Government of the Presidency in which such printing press, types or other materials or articles for printing are intended to be kept or used, or of such other person or persons as the Governor-General of India in Council may authorise to grant such sanction or license; and any person who shall keep or use any printing press, or types, or other materials or articles for printing without having obtained such license shall be liable, on conviction before a magistrate, to a fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or to imprisonment not exceeding two years or both.

II. If any person shall keep or use any printing press, or types, or other materials or articles for printing, without such sanction or license as aforesaid, any magistrate within whose jurisdiction the same may be found, may seize the same, or cause them to be seized, together with any books or printed papers found on the premises; and shall dispose of the same as the Governor-General of India in Council, or the Executive Government of any Presidency, or such other person as the Governor-General in Council shall authorise in that behalf, may direct, and it shall be lawful for any magistrate to issue a search warrant for the entry and search of any house, building or other place, in which he may have reason to believe that any such unlicensed printing press, types or other materials

or articles for printing are kept or used.

III. Whenever any person or persons shall be desirous of keeping or using any printing press, or types or other materials or articles for printing, he or they shall apply by writing to the magistrate within whose jurisdiction he proposes to keep or use such press or other such materials or articles as aforesaid, or to such other persons as the Governor-General in Council shall authorise in that behalf, may appoint for the purpose. The application shall specify the name, profession, and place of abode of the proprietor or proprietors of such printing press, types, or other materials or articles for printing, and of the person or persons who is or are intended to use the same, and the place where such printing press, types or other materials or articles for printing are intended to be used, and such application shall be verified by the oath, affirmation or solemn declaration of the proprietors and persons intending to keep or use such printing press, types, or other materials or articles for printing, or such of them as the magistrate or other person to whom the application shall be made shall direct, and any person to whom the application shall be made shall direct, and any person wilfully making a false oath, affirmation or declaration, shall be deemed guilty of perjury.

IV. The magistrate shall forward a copy of such application to the Governor-General in Council, or to the Executive Government of the Presidency, or to such other person as may be authorised to grant the license; and the said Governor-General in Council, or such Executive Government, or other person as aforesaid, may at his or their discretion, grant such license subject to such conditions (if any) as he or they may think fit, and may also at any time revoke the same.

V. If any person or persons shall keep or use, or cause or allow to be kept or used, any such printing press, types or other materials or articles for printing contrary to the conditions upon which the license may have been granted or after notice of the revocation of such license shall have been given to, or left for, him or them at the place at which the printing press shall have been established, he or they shall be subject to the same penalties as if no such license had been granted; and such printing press, types, and other materials or articles for printing may be seized and disposed of in the manner prescribed in Section II of this Act.

VI. All books and other papers printed at a press licensed under

this Act shall have printed legibly thereon the name of the printer and of the publisher, and the place of the printing and publication thereof; and a copy of every such book or printed paper shall be immediately forwarded to the magistrate or to such other person as the Government or other persons granting the license may direct; and every person who shall print or publish any book or paper otherwise than in conformity with this provision, or who shall neglect to forward a copy of such book or paper in the manner hereinbefore directed, unless specially exempted therefrom by the Governor-General in Council, or other person granting the license, shall be liable on conviction, before a magistrate, to a fine not exceeding one thousand rupees, and in default of payment to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six calendar months.

VII. The Governor-General of India in Council, or the Executive Government of any Presidency may, by order to be published in the Government Gazette, prohibit the publication or circulation, within the said territories, or the territories subject to the said Government, or within any particular part of the said territories, of any particular newspaper, book, or other printed paper, or any newspaper of any particular description, whether printed within the said territories or not; and whoever, after such prohibition, shall knowingly import, publish or circulate, or cause to be imported, published or circulated any such book or paper, shall be liable for every such offence, on conviction before a Magistrate, to a fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or to imprisonment not exceeding two years or to both; and every such book or paper shall be seized and forfeited.

VIII. The word "printing" shall include lithographing. The word "magistrate" shall include a person exercising the powers of a magistrate, and also a Justice of the Peace; and every person hereby made punishable by a Justice of the Peace may be punishable upon summary conviction.

IX. Nothing in this Act shall exempt any person from complying with the provisions of Act XI of 1835.

X. No persons shall be prosecuted for any offence against the provision of this Act, within fourteen days after the passing of the Act, without an order of the Governor-General in Council, or the Executive Government of the Presidency in which the offence shall be committed, or the person authorised under the provisions of this Act to grant licenses.

XI. This Act shall continue in force for one year.

The conditions under which licenses were to be granted, and by whom, are contained in the following Notification:

Fort William
Home Department
18*th June*, 1857

With reference to the provisions of Act No. XV of 1857, it is hereby notified that applications for licenses to keep or use any printing press, or types, or other materials or articles for printing within the town of Calcutta, are to be made to the Commissioner of Police.

The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal is authorised to grant licenses under the said Act, and to appoint any person or persons to receive applications for such licenses in any part of the lower provinces of the Presidency of Bengal except the town of Calcutta.

The Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces is authorised to grant licenses under the said Act, and to appoint any person or persons to receive such applications in any part of the North-Western provinces of the Presidency of Bengal.

The Governor of the Straits Settlements, the Chief Commissioners of the Punjab and Oude, and the Commissioners of Mysore, Coorg, Nagpore, Pegu and the Tenasserim and Martaban provinces, are authorised severally to appoint any person or persons to receive such applications within the provinces, districts and settlements under their control.

The conditions upon which licenses to keep or use any printing press or types, or other materials or articles for printing will ordinarily be granted, are as follows:

1. That no book, newspaper, pamphlet, or other work printed at such press, or with such materials or articles, shall contain any observations or statements impugning the motives or designs of the British Government, either in England or India, or in any way tending to bring the said Government into hatred and contempt, to excite disaffection or unlawful resistance to its orders, or to weaken its lawful authority, or the lawful authority of its civil or military servants.

2. That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper or other work, shall contain observations having a tendency to weaken the friendship towards the British Government of native princes, chiefs, or states,

in dependence upon or alliance with it.

The above conditions apply equally to original matter, and to matter copied from other publications.

A copy of every book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work published in the town of Calcutta, is to be immediately forwarded to the Commissioner of Police.

IV

AN ACT FOR THE BETTER CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES—1878

Whereas certain publications in Oriental languages printed or circulated in British India have of late contained matter likely to excite disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, or antipathy between persons of different races, castes, religions or sects in British India, or have been used as means of intimidation or extortion:

And whereas such publications are read by and disseminated amongst large numbers of ignorant and unintelligent persons, and are thus likely to have an influence which they otherwise would not possess; and whereas it is accordingly necessary for the maintenance of the public tranquillity and for the security of Her Majesty's subjects and others to confer on the Executive Government power to control the printing and circulation of such publications; it is hereby enacted as follows:

1. This section and sections eleven to sixteen both inclusive apply to the whole of British India; the other sections of this Act apply only to those parts of British India to which they may from time to time be extended by the Governor-General in Council by a notification in the Gazette of India.

2. In this Act:

"Newspaper" means any periodical work containing public news, or comments on public news, printed wholly or partially in any Oriental language, and includes two or more copies of a newspaper bearing the same name, whether published on the same day or on different days, and also includes any series of newspapers, whether printed on one day or different days, or with one name or with different names; and

"Print", "printed" and "printer" apply not only to printing, but

also to lithography, engraving and photography.

3. Any Magistrate of a District, or Commissioner of Police in a Presidency-town, within the local limits of whose jurisdiction any newspaper is printed or published, may, with the previous sanction of the local government and subject to the provisions of section 5, call upon the printer and publisher of such newspaper to enter into a joint and several bond, or when the printer and publisher of such newspaper are the same person, call upon such person to enter into a bond, binding themselves or himself, as the case may be, in such sum as the Local Government thinks fit, not to:

(*a*) print or publish in such newspaper any words, signs or visible representations likely to excite disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, or antipathy between any persons of different races, castes, religions or sects in British India; or

(*b*) use or attempt to use such newspaper for the purpose of putting any person in fear or causing annoyance to him and thereby inducing him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or anything signed or sealed which may be converted into a valuable security or to give any gratification to any person, or for the purpose of holding out any threat of injury to a public servant, or to any person in whom they or he believe or believes that public servant to be interested, and thereby inducing that public servant to do any act, or to forbear or delay to do any act, connected with the exercise of his public functions.

Explanation. "Valuable security", "gratification" and "public servant" are used in this section in the senses in which they are respectively used in the Indian Penal Code.

4. When any bond is executed under section 3, the said Magistrate or Commissioner may further require the obligor or obligors of the same to deposit the amount thereof in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India, and the money or securities so deposited shall, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained, remain so deposited until fifteen days after the person or persons depositing the same has or have made and subscribed a declaration under Act No. XXV of 1867, section 8.

When such person or persons has or have subscribed such a declaration, and fifteen days have elapsed from the date of subscribing the same, he or they may apply to the said Magistrate

or Commissioner for the restoration of the said money or securities and thereupon such money or securities shall, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained, be restored to such person or persons.

5. When any publisher or printer is called upon by a Magistrate or Commissioner of Police to execute a bond under this Act in respect of any newspaper, the publisher of such newspaper may deliver to such Magistrate or Commissioner an undertaking in writing to the effect that no words, signs or visible representations shall, during the year next following the date of such undertaking, be printed or published in such newspaper which have not previously been submitted to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf, by name or in virtue of his office, or which on being so submitted have been objected to by such officer.

When such undertaking has been so delivered, no such bond or deposit shall be required from the publisher or printer of such newspaper during the said year.

6. Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any newspaper printed or published in the territories under its administration contains any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 3, clause (*a*), or that any such newspaper has been used or attempted to be used for any purpose described in the same section, clause (*b*), such Local Government may cause a notice in the form in the schedule hereto annexed, or to the like effect, to be published in the local official Gazette.

7. A true copy of such notice shall be fixed on some conspicuous part of the premises described in the declaration made in respect of the newspaper under the said Act No. XXV of 1867, section 5, and the copy so fixed shall be deemed to have been duly served on the printer and publisher of such paper.

8. If after the publication of such notice and the service thereof, the newspaper in respect of which it has been issued contains any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 3, clause (*a*), or is used, or attempted to be used, for any purpose described in the same section, clause (*b*), all printing presses, engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, paper and other implements, utensils, plant and materials, used or employed, or intended to be used or employed, in or for the purpose of printing or publishing such newspaper, or found in or about any premises where such newspaper is printed or published, and all copies of such newspaper wherever found, and any money or securities

which the printer or publisher of such newspaper may have deposited under the provisions of section 4, shall be liable to be forfeited to Her Majesty: Provided that the publisher of any newspaper may, on the publication of a notice in respect thereof under section 6, and before anything has become liable to forfeiture under this section in respect of such newspaper, deliver to the Magistrate of the District, or to the Commissioner of Police in a Presidency-town, within the local limits of whose jurisdiction such newspaper is published, an undertaking in writing of the nature specified in section 5, and if such Magistrate or Commissioner accepts such undertaking, nothing shall become liable to forfeiture under this section between the date on which such undertaking is so accepted and the end of the period for which it is given.

9. Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any money or security deposited under this Act in respect of any newspaper is liable to be forfeited under section 8, such Local Government may, by a notification in the local official Gazette declare such money or security to be forfeited;

And whenever it appears to the Local Government that any implements, utensils, plant or materials used or employed, or intended to be used or employed in or for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, or which is or are in or about any premises where such newspaper is printed or published, or any copies of any newspaper, is or are liable to be forfeited under that section, the Local Government may declare such implements, utensils, plant, materials or copies to be forfeited, and may by warrant issued by its authority under the hand of any Magistrate empower any person to seize and take away such implements, utensils, plant, materials and copies wherever found, and to enter upon any premises

(*a*) Where the newspaper specified in such warrant is printed or published, or

(*b*) where any such implements, utensils, plant or materials may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, or

(*c*) where any copy of such newspaper is sold, distributed, published, or publicly exhibited, or reasonably suspected to be sold, distributed, published or publicly exhibited, or kept for sale, distribution, publication or public exhibition, or reasonably suspected to be so kept, and search for such implements, utensils, plant, materials and copies.

Every warrant issued under this section, so far as relates to a search, shall be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants under the law relating to criminal procedure for the time being in force.

10. When any book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet or other document printed wholly or partially in any Oriental language in British India contains any words, signs or visible representations which are of the nature described in section 3, clause (*a*) or when any such book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet, or other document has been used, or attempted to be used, for any purpose described in the same section, clause (*b*), all printing presses, engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, paper and other implements, utensils, plant and materials, used or employed in or for the purpose of printing or publishing such book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet or other document, or found in or about any premises where the same is printed or published, and all copies of such book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet or other document, shall be liable to be forfeited to Her Majesty.

Whenever it appears to the Local Government that anything is liable to be forfeited under this section, the Local Government may declare such thing to be forfeited, and may direct any Magistrate to issue a warrant in respect of the same, and thereupon such thing may be searched for, seized and taken away in manner provided by section 9. The Local Government may, upon good cause shown, cancel any forfeiture under this section.

11. When any newspaper printed elsewhere than in British India contains any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 3, clause (*a*), or is used or attempted to be used for any purpose described in the same section, clause (*b*), all copies of such newspaper, brought into British India, shall be liable to be forfeited to Her Majesty.

12. Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any copies of any newspaper in any of the territories under its administration are liable to be forfeited under section 11, such Local Government may declare all copies of such newspaper wherever found to be forfeited, and may by warrant issued by its authority under the hand of any Magistrate, empower any person to seize and take away all copies of such newpaper wherever found, and to enter upon any premises where any copy of such newspaper is sold, distributed, published or publicly exhibited, or reasonably suspected to be

sold, distributed, published or publicly exhibited, or kept for sale, distribution, publication or public exhibition, or reasonably suspected to be so kept; and search for all copies of such newspaper.

Every warrant issued under this section shall, so far as relates to a search, be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants under the law relating to criminal procedure for the time being in force.

13. Any person feeling aggrieved by the issue of any notification under section 9, or by any declaration made or anything done in the execution of a warrant issued under that section, or under section 10 or section 12, may, within three months from the date of the notification or declaration, or the doing of the thing complained of (as the case may be), appeal to the Governor-General in Council; and the Governor-General in Council shall take such appeal into consideration, and the order passed by him thereon shall be final and conclusive.

14. The Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct that any newspapers printed at any place beyond the limits of British India, or any books, pamphlets, placards, broadsheets or other documents printed wholly or partially in any Oriental language at any such place, shall not be brought into, or circulated, distributed or publicly exhibited, or sold, or kept for circulation, distribution, public exhibition or sale, in British India.

Whoever, in contravention of any direction under this section, brings any such newspaper, book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet or other document into British India, or circulates, distributes, publishes, exhibits or sells the same, or keeps the same for circulation, distribution, exhibition or sale, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both; and all copies of such newspaper, book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet or other document found in British India shall be forfeited to Her Majesty.

Whenever it appears to any Magistrate of a District, or to any Commissioner of Police in a Presidency-town, that anything within the local limits of his jurisdiction is forfeited under this section, he may issue a warrant to search for and seize the same, and such warrant shall be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants under the law relating to criminal procedure for the time being in force.

15. When any declaration has been made under section 9, section

10 or section 12, in respect of any newspaper, book, pamphlet, play-card, broadsheet or other document, or any notification has been issued in respect of the same under section 14, any officer of the Postal Department empowered in this behalf by the Governor-General in Council, by name or in virtue of his office, may search or cause search to be made for any copies of the same in the custody of that Department, and shall deliver all such copies found to such officer as the Governor-General in Council may appoint in this behalf by name or in virtue of his office.

16. Every notification and declaration of forfeiture purporting to be issued or made under this Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place; and no proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act, shall be called in question by any Court of civil or criminal jurisdiction; and no civil or criminal proceeding shall be instituted against any person for anything purporting to be done under this Act or in execution of any such warrant, or for the recovery of any property purporting to be seized under this Act.

17. Any publisher or printer of a newspaper required to execute a bond or make a deposit under section 3 or section 4, and publishing or printing such newspaper without having complied with such requisition, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

18. When any publisher of a newspaper has given an undertaking under section 5 or section 8, and during the period for which such undertaking is given, any words, signs or visible representations which have not been submitted to the officer appointed under section 5 or which, on being so submitted have been objected to by him, are printed or published in such newspaper, such publisher and the printer of such newspaper shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

19. Any portion of this Act which has been extended to any part of British India under section 1 shall cease to be in force in such part whenever the Governor-General in Council, by notification in the Gazette of India, so directs, but may be again extended to such part by a like notification.

20. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to prevent any person from being prosecuted under any other law for any act or omission which constitutes an offence against this Act.

V

OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT OF 1889

An Act to prevent the Disclosure of Official Documents and Information.

Whereas it is expedient to prevent the disclosure of official documents and information, it is hereby enacted as follows:

1. (1) This Act may be called the Indian Official Secrets Act, 1889, and (2) It extends to the whole of British India, and applies, (*a*) to all subjects of Her Majesty within the dominions of Princes and States in India in alliance with Her Majesty and (*b*) to all Native Indian subjects of Her Majesty without and beyond British India.

2. In this Act, unless there is something repugnant in the subject or context:

(1) any reference to a place belonging to Her Majesty includes a place belonging to any department of the Government, whether the place is or is not actually vested in Her Majesty;

(2) expressions referring to communications include any communication, whether in whole or in part, and whether the document, sketch, plan, model or information itself or the substance or effect thereof only be communicated;

(3) "document" includes part of a document;

(4) "model" includes design, pattern and specimen;

(5) "sketch" includes any photograph or other mode of representation of any place or thing; and

(6) "Office under Her Majesty" includes any office or employment in or under any Department of the Government.

3. (1) (*a*) Where a person for the purpose of wrongfully obtaining information:

(*i*) enters or is in any part of a place belonging to Her Majesty, being a fortress, arsenal, factory, dockyard, camp, ship, office or other like place, in which part he is not entitled to be, or

(*ii*) when lawfully or unlawfully in any such place as aforesaid, either obtains any document, sketch, plan, model, or knowledge of anything which he is not entitled to obtain, or takes without lawful authority any sketch or plan, or

(*iii*) when outside any fortress, arsenal, factory, dockyard or

camp belonging to Her Majesty, takes or attempts to take without authority given by or on behalf of Her Majesty any sketch or plan of that fortress, arsenal, factory, dockyard or camp, or,

(*b*) where a person knowingly having possession of, or control over, any such document, sketch, plan, model or knowledge as has been obtained or taken by means of any act which constitutes an offence against this Act at any time wilfully and without lawful authority communicates or attempts to communicate the same to any person to whom the same ought not, in the interest of the State, to be communicated at that time, or

(*c*) where a person after having been entrusted in confidence by some officer under Her Majesty with any document, sketch, plan, model or information relating to any such place as aforesaid, or, to the naval or military affairs of Her Majesty, wilfully, and in breach of such confidence communicates the same when, in the interest of the State, it ought not to be communicated, he shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

(2) Where a person having possession of any document, sketch, plan, model or information relating to any fortress, arsenal, factory, dockyard, camp, ship, office or other like place, belonging to Her Majesty, or to the naval or military affairs of Her Majesty, in whatever manner the same has been obtained or taken, at any time wilfully communicates the same to any person whom he knows the same ought not, in the interest of the State, to be communicated at that time, he shall be liable to the same punishment as if he committed an offence under the foregoing provisions of this section.

(3) Where a person commits any act declared by this section to be an offence, he shall, if he intended to communicate to a foreign State any information, document, sketch, plan, model or knowledge obtained or taken by him, or entrusted to him as aforesaid, or if he communicates the same to any agent of a foreign State, be punished with transportation for life, or for any term not less than five years, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years.

4. (1) Where a person, by means of his holding or having held an office under Her Majesty, has lawfully or unlawfully either obtained possession of or control over any document, sketch, plan or model, or acquired any information, and at any time corruptly or contrary to his official duty communicates or attempts to communicate that document, sketch, plan, model or information to any person to

whom the same ought not, in the interest of the State, or otherwise in the public interest, to be communicated at that time, he shall be guilty of a breach of official trust.

(2) A person guilty of a breach of official trust shall:

(*a*) if the communication was made or attempted to be made to a foreign State, be punished with transportation for life or for any term not less than five years, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years, and

(*b*) in any other case be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

(3) This section shall apply to a person holding a contract with any department of the Government, or with the holder of any office under Her Majesty as such holder, where such contract involves an obligation of secrecy, and to any person employed by any person or body of persons holding such a contract, who is under a like obligation of secrecy, as if the person holding the contract and the person so employed were respectively holders of an office under Her Majesty.

5. A prosecution for an offence against this Act shall not be instituted except by or with the consent of the Local Government or of the Governor-General in Council.

Statement of Objects and Reasons. The object of this Bill is to re-enact for India, *mutatis mutandis*, the provisions of the Official Secrets Act, 1889 (52 and 53 Victoria, c. 52a), which has recently been passed by Parliament. That statute applies (see Section 6) to all acts made offences by it when committed in any part of Her Majesty's dominions, or when committed by British officers or subjects elsewhere, but the working in India of criminal law enacted by Parliament has not infrequently, notwithstanding the provisions of 37 and 38 Vict., c. 27, s. 3, been found to be beset with practical difficulty. Under these circumstances it seems desirable to take advantage of the saving for laws of British possessions contained in section 5 of the Statute and re-enact it for India with such adaptations of its language and penalties as the nomenclature of the Indian Statute book requires.

VI

PRESS AND REGISTRATION OF BOOKS ACT, 1867

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the regulation of printing

presses and of periodicals containing news, for the preservation of copies of every book printed or lithographed in British India, and for the registration of such books; it is hereby enacted as follows:

PART I. PRELIMINARY

1. In this Act, unless there shall be something repugnant in the subject or context—"book" includes every volume, part or division of a volume, and pamphlet, in any language, and every sheet of music, map, chart or plan separately printed or lithographed: "British India" means the territories which are or shall be vested in Her Majesty or Her successors by the Statute 21 and 22 Vict., cap. 106 (An Act for the better Government of India): "Magistrate" means any person exercising the full powers of a Magistrate, and includes a Magistrate of Police. And in every part of British India to which this Act shall extend, "Local Government" shall mean the person authorised by law to administer executive Government in such part, and includes a Chief Commissioner.

2. (Repeal of XI of 1835). Rep. Act XIV of 1870.

PART II. OF PRINTING PRESSES AND NEWSPAPERS

3. Every book or paper printed within British India shall have printed legibly on it the name of the printer and the place of printing, and (if the book or paper be published) the name of the publisher and the place of publication.

4. No person shall, within British India, keep in his possession any press for the printing of books or papers, who shall not have made and subscribed the following declaration before the Magistrate within whose local jurisdiction such press may be.

"I, A. B., declare that I have a press for printing at————," and this last blank shall be filled up with a true and precise description of the place where such press may be situate.

5. No printed periodical work, containing public news or comments on public news, shall be published in British India, except in conformity with the rules hereinafter laid down:

(1) The printer and the publisher of every such periodical work shall appear before the Magistrate within whose local jurisdiction such work shall be published, and shall make and subscribe, in duplicate, the following declaration: "I, A.B., declare that I am the printer (or publisher, or

printer and publisher) of the periodical work entitled——— and printed (or published or printed and published, as the case may be) at——————." And the last blank in this form of declaration shall be filled up with true and precise account of the premises where the printing or publication is conducted;

(2) As often as the place of printing or publication is changed, a new declaration shall be necessary;

(3) As often as the printer or the publisher who shall have made such declaration as is aforesaid shall leave British India, a new declaration from a printer or publisher resident within the said territories shall be necessary.

6. Each of the two originals of every declaration so made and subscribed as is aforesaid, shall be authenticated by the signature and official seal of the Magistrate before whom the said declaration shall have been made.

One of the said originals shall be deposited among the records of the office of the Magistrate, and the other shall be deposited among the records of the High Court of Judicature, or other principal Civil Court of original jurisdiction for the place where the said declaration shall have been made. The officer in charge of each original shall allow any person to inspect that original on payment of a fee of one rupee, and shall give to any person applying a copy of the said declaration, attested by the seal of the Court which has the custody of the original, on payment of a fee of two rupees.

7. In any legal proceeding whatever, civil as well as criminal, the production of a copy of such declaration as is aforesaid, attested by the seal of some Court empowered by this Act to have the custody of such declarations, shall be held (unless the contrary be proved) to be sufficient evidence, as against the person whose name shall be subscribed to such declaration, that the said person was printer or publisher, or printer and publisher (according as the words of the said declaration may be) of every portion of every periodical work whereof the title shall correspond with the title of the periodical work mentioned in the declaration.

8. Provided always that any person who may have subscribed any such declaration as is aforesaid, and who may subsequently cease to be the printer or publisher of the periodical work mentioned

in such declaration, may appear before any Magistrate, and make and subscribe in duplicate the following declaration:

"I, A. B, declare that I have ceased to be the printer (or printer and publisher) of the periodical work entitled——————."

Each original of the latter declaration shall be authenticated by signature and seal of the Magistrate before whom the said latter declaration shall have been made, and one original of the said latter declaration shall be filed along with each original of the former declaration.

The officer in charge of each original of the latter declaration shall allow any person applying to inspect that original on payment of a fee of one rupee, and shall give to any person applying, a copy of the said latter declaration, attested by the seal of the Court having custody of the original, on payment of a fee of two rupees.

In all trials in which a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the former declaration shall have been put in evidence, it shall be lawful to put in evidence a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the latter declaration, and the former declaration shall not be taken to be evidence that the declarant was, at any period subsequent to the date of the latter declaration printer or publisher of the periodical work therein mentioned.

PART III. DELIVERY OF BOOKS

9. Printed or lithographed copies of the whole of every book which shall be printed or lithographed in British India after this Act shall come into force, together with all maps, prints or other engravings belonging thereto, finished and coloured in the same manner as the best copies of the same, shall, notwithstanding any agreement (if the book be published) between the printer and publisher thereof, be delivered by the printer at such place and to such officer as the Local Government shall, by Notification in the official Gazette, from time to time direct, and free of expense to the Government, as follows, that is to say:

(*a*) in any case, within one calendar month after the day on which any such book shall first be delivered out of the press, one such copy, and,

(*b*) if within one calendar year from such day the Local Government shall require the printer to deliver other such copies not exceeding two in number, then within one calendar

month after the day on which any such requisition shall be made by the local Government on the printer, another such copy, or two other such copies, as the Local Government may direct.

The copies so delivered being bound, sewed or stitched together and upon the best paper on which any copies of the book shall be printed or lithographed.

The publisher or other person employing the printer shall, at a reasonable time before the expiration of the said month, supply him with all maps, prints and engravings finished and coloured as aforesaid, which may be necessary to enable him to comply with the requirements aforesaid.

Nothing in the former part of this section shall apply to:

(*i*) any second or subsequent edition of a book in which edition no additions or alterations either in the letter press or in the maps, book prints or other engravings belonging to the book have been made, and a copy of the first or some preceding edition of which book has been delivered under this Act, or

(*ii*) any periodical work published in conformity with the rules laid down in section 5 of this Act.

10. The officer to whom a copy of a book is delivered under the last foregoing section shall give to the printer a receipt in writing therefor.

11. The copy delivered pursuant to clause (*a*) of the first paragraph of section 9 of this Act shall be disposed of as the Local Government shall from time to time determine. Any copy or copies delivered pursuant to clause (*b*) of the said paragraph shall be transmitted to the British Museum or the Secretary of State for India, or to the British Museum and the said Secretary of State, as the case may be.

PART IV. PENALTIES

12. Whoever shall print or publish any book or paper otherwise than in conformity with the rule contained in section 3 of this Act shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or by simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or by both.

13. Whoever shall keep in his possession any such press as aforesaid, without making such a declaration as is required by section 4 of this Act, shall, on conviction before a Magistrate be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or by simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or by both.

14. Any person who shall, in making any declaration under the authority of this Act, make a statement which is false, and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true, shall on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

15. Whoever shall print or publish any such periodical work as is hereinbefore described without conforming to the rules hereinbefore laid down, or whoever shall print or publish, or shall cause to be printed or published, any such periodical work, knowing that the said rules have not been observed with respect to that work, shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished with fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or both.

16. If any printer of any such book as is referred to in section 9 of this Act shall neglect to deliver copies of the same pursuant to that section, he shall for every such default forfeit to the Government such sum not exceeding fifty rupees as a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the book was printed may, on the application of the officer to whom the copies should have been delivered or of any person authorised by that officer in this behalf, determine to be in the circumstances a reasonable penalty for the default, and, in addition to such sum, such further sum as the Magistrate may determine to be the value of the copies which the printer ought to have delivered.

If any publisher or other person employing any such printer shall neglect to supply him, in the manner prescribed in the second paragraph of section 9 of this Act, with the maps, prints or engravings which may be necessary to enable him to comply with the provisions of that section, such publisher or other person shall for every such default forfeit to the Government such sum not exceeding fifty rupees as such a Magistrate as aforesaid may, on such an application as aforesaid, determine to be in the circumstances a reasonable penalty for the default, and, in addition to such sum, such further sum as the Magistrate may determine to be the value of the maps,

prints or engravings which such publisher or other person ought to have supplied.

17. Any sum forfeited to the Government under the last foregoing section may be recovered, under the warrant of the Magistrate determining the sum, or of his successor in office, in the manner authorised by the Code of Criminal Procedure for the time being in force, and within the period described by the Indian Penal Code, for the levy of a fine.

All fines or forfeitures under this Part of this Act shall, when recovered be disposed of as the Local Government shall from time to time direct.

PART V. REGISTRATION OF BOOKS

18. There shall be kept at such office, and by such officer as the Local Government shall appoint in this behalf, a book to be called a Catalogue of Books printed in British India, wherein shall be registered a memorandum of every book which shall have been delivered (pursuant to clause (*a*) of the first paragraph of section 9 of this Act). Such memorandum shall (so far as may be practicable) contain the following particulars (that is to say):

(1) the title of the book and the contents of the title-page, with a translation into English of such title and contents, when the same are not in the English language;
(2) the language in which the book is written;
(3) the name of the author, translator or editor of the book or any part thereof;
(4) the subject;
(5) the place of printing and the place of publication;
(6) the name or firm of the printer and the name or firm of the publisher;
(7) the date of issue from the press or of the publication;
(8) the number of sheets, leaves or pages;
(9) the size;
(10) the first, second or other number of the edition;
(11) the number of copies of which the edition consists;
(12) whether the book is printed or lithographed;
(13) the price at which the book is sold to the public; and
(14) the name and residence of the proprietor of the copyright or of any portion of such copyright.

Such memorandum shall be made and registered in the case of each book as soon as practicable after the delivery of the copy thereof pursuant to clause (*a*) of the first paragraph of section 9.

19. The memoranda registered during each quarter in the said Catalogue shall be published in the local Gazette as soon as may be after the end of such quarter, and a copy of the memoranda so published shall be sent to the said Secretary of State, and to the Government of India, respectively.

PART VI. MISCELLANEOUS

20. The Local Government shall have power to make such rules as may be necessary or desirable for carrying out the objects of this Act and from time to time to repeal, alter and add to such rules. All such rules, and all repeals and alterations thereof, and additions thereto, shall be published in the local Gazette.

21. The Governor-General of India in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, exclude any class of books from the operation of the whole or any part or parts of this Act.

22. (Continuance of Parts of Act). Rep. Act X of 1890 s.7.

23. (Commencement) Rep. Act XIV of 1870.

VII

THE INDIAN PRESS ACT, 1910

An Act to provide for the better control of the Press.

Whereas it is necessary to provide for the better control of the Press; it is hereby enacted as follows;

1. (1) This Act may be called the Indian Press Act, 1910.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India, inclusive of British Baluchistan, the Santhal Parganas and the Pargana of Spiti.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context:

(*a*) "book" includes every volume, part or division of a volume, and pamphlet, in any language, and every sheet of music, map, chart or plan separately printed or lithographed;

(*b*) "document" includes also any painting, drawing or photograph or other visible representation;

(*c*) "High Court" means the highest Civil Court of Appeal for any local area except in the case of the Provinces of Ajmer-Merwara

and Coorg where it means the High Court of Judicature for the North-Western Provinces and the High Court of Judicature at Madras respectively;

(*d*) "Magistrate" means a District Magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate;

(*e*) "newspaper" means any periodical work containing public news or comments on public news; and

(*f*) "printing-press" includes all engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, implements, utensils and other plant or materials used for the purpose of printing.

3. (1) Every person keeping a printing-press who is required to make a declaration under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall, at the time of making the same, deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than two thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India:

Provided that the Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, for special reasons to be recorded by him, dispense with the deposit of any security, or may from time to time cancel or vary any order under this sub-section.

(2) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing-press kept in any place in the territories under its administration, in respect of which a declaration was made prior to the commencement of this Act under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, is used for any of the purposes described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing, require the keeper of such press to deposit with the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction the press is situated security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than five thousand rupees, as the Local Government may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

4. (1) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing-press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion,

allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise:

(*a*) to incite to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or to any act of violence, or

(*b*) to seduce any officer, soldier or sailor in the Army or Navy of His Majesty from his allegiance or his duty, or

(*c*) to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of justice in British India or any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty, or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government or any such Prince or Chief, or

(*d*) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or to do any act which he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do, or

(*e*) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or

(*f*) to convey any threat of injury to a public servant, or to any person in whom that public servant is believed to be interested, with a view to inducing that public servant to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public functions,

the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing the words, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited in respect of such press and all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty.

Explanation I. In clause (*c*) the expression "disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation II. Comments expressing disapproval of the measure of the Government or of any such Native Prince or Chief as aforesaid with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government or of any such Native Prince or Chief or of the administration of justice in

British India without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not come within the scope of clause (*c*).

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1), the declaration made in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

5. Where the security given in respect of any press has been declared forfeited under section 4, every person making a fresh declaration in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom such declaration is made security to such amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

6. If after such further security has been deposited the printing-press is again used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare:

(*a*) the further security so deposited,
(*b*) the printing-press used for the purpose of printing or publishing such newspaper, book or other document, or found in or upon the premises where such newspaper, book or other document is, or at the time of printing the matter complained of was, printed, and
(*c*) all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

7. (1) Where any printing-press is or any copies of any newspaper, book or other document are declared forfeited to His Majesty under this Act, the Local Government may direct any Magistrate to issue a warrant empowering any police-officer, not below the rank of Sub-Inspector, to seize and detain any property ordered to be forfeited and to enter upon and search for such property in any premises:

(*i*) where any such property may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, or

(*ii*) where any copy of such newspaper, book or other document is kept for sale, distribution, publication or public exhibition or reasonably suspected to be so kept.

(2) Every warrant issued under this section shall, so far as relates to a search, be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

8. (1) Every publisher of a newspaper who is required to make a declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall, at the time of making the same, deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such an amount not being less than five hundred or more than two thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India: Provided that if the person registered under the said Act as printer of the newspaper is also registered as the keeper of the press where the newspaper is printed, the publisher shall not be required to deposit security so long as such registration is in force:

Provided further that the Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, for special reasons, to be recorded by him, dispense with the deposit of any security or may from time to time cancel or vary any order under this sub-section.

(2) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that a newspaper published within its territories, in respect of which a declaration was made by the publisher thereof prior to the commencement of this Act, under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, contains any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing, require the publisher to deposit with the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction the newspaper is published security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than five thousand rupees, as the Local Government may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

9. (1) If any newspaper in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 8 contains any words, signs or visible representations which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare such security and all copies of such newspaper,

wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1), the declaration made by the publisher of such newspaper under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

10. Where the security given in respect of any newspaper is declared forfeited, any person making a fresh declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, as publisher of such newspaper, or any other newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

11. If after such further security has been deposited the newspaper again contains any words, signs or visible representations which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations declare:

(*a*) the further security so deposited, and

(*b*) all copies of such newspaper wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

12. (1) Where any newspaper, book or other document wherever printed appears to the Local Government to contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion, declare such newspaper, book or other document to be forfeited to His Majesty and thereupon any police officer may seize the same wherever found, and any Magistrate may by warrant authorise any police officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector to enter upon and search for the same in any premises where the newspaper, book or other document may be or may be reasonably suspected to be.

(2) Every warrant issued under this section shall, so far as relates to a search, be executed in manner provided for the execution of search warrants under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

13. The Chief Customs-officer or other officer authorised by the Local Government in this behalf may detain any package brought,

whether by land or sea, into British India which he suspects to contain any newspaper, books or other documents of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), and shall forthwith forward copies of any newspapers, books or other documents of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), and shall forthwith forward copies of any newspaper, books or other documents found therein to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the Local Government may direct.

14. No newspaper printed and published in British India shall be transmitted by post unless the printer and publisher have made a declaration under section 5, of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and the publisher has deposited security when so required under this Act.

15. Any officer in charge of a post-office or authorised by the Post-Master General in this behalf may detain any article other than a letter or parcel in course of transmission by post, which he suspects to contain:

(*a*) Any newspaper, book or other document containing words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) or,

(*b*) any newspaper in respect of which the declaration required by section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, has not been made, or the security required by this Act has not been deposited by the publisher thereof,

and shall deliver all such articles to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the Local Government may direct.

16. (1) The printer of every newspaper in British India shall deliver at such place and to such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, direct, and free of expense to the Government, two copies of each issue of such newspaper as soon as it is published.

(2) If any printer of any such newspaper neglects to deliver copies of the same in compliance with sub-sections (1), he shall, on the complaint of the officer to whom the copies should have been delivered or of any person authorised by that officer in this behalf, be punishable on conviction by a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the newspaper was printed with fine which may extend to fifty rupees for every default.

17. Any person having an interest in any property in respect of

which an order of forfeiture has been made under section 4, 6, 9, 11 or 12 may, within two months from the date of such order, apply to the High Court to set aside such order on the ground that the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order was made did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1).

18. Every such application shall be heard and determined by a Special Bench of the High Court composed of three Judges, or, where the High Court consists of less than three Judges, of all the Judges.

19. (1) If it appears to the Special Bench that the words, signs or visible representations contained in the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order in question was made were not of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Special Bench shall set aside the order of forfeiture.

(2) Where there is a difference of opinion among the Judges forming the Special Bench, the decision shall be in accordance with the opinion of the majority (if any) of those Judges.

(3) Where there is no such majority which concurs in setting aside the order in question, such order shall stand.

20. On the hearing of any such application with reference to any newspaper, any copy of such newspaper published after the commencement of this Act may be given in evidence in aid of the proof of the nature or tendency of the words, signs or visible representations contained in such newspaper which are alleged to be of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1).

21. Every High Court shall, as soon as conveniently may be, frame rules to regulate the procedure in the case of such applications, the amount of the costs thereof and the execution of orders passed thereon, and until such rules are framed the practice of such Court in proceedings other than suits and appeals shall apply, so far as may be practicable, to such applications.

22. Every declaration of forfeiture purporting to be made under this Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place and no proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act shall be called in question by any Court, except the High Court on such application as aforesaid, and no civil or criminal proceeding except as provided by this Act, shall be instituted against any person for anything done or in good faith intended to be done under this Act.

23. (1) Whoever keeps in his possession a press for the printing of books or papers without making a deposit under section 3 or section 5, when required so to do, shall on conviction by a Magistrate be liable to the penalty to which he would be liable if he had failed to make the declaration prescribed by section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

(2) Whoever publishes any newspaper without making a deposit under section 8 or section 10, when required so to do, or publishes such newspaper knowing that such security has not been deposited, shall, on conviction by a Magistrate, be liable to the penalty to which he would be liable if he had failed to make the declaration prescribed by section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

24. Where any person has deposited any security under this Act and ceases to keep the press in respect of which such security was deposited, or, being a publisher, makes a declaration under section 8 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, he may apply to the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction such press is situate for the return of the said security; and thereupon such security shall, upon proof to the satisfaction of the Magistrate and subject to the provisions hereinbefore contained, be returned to such person.

25. Every notice under this Act shall be sent to a Magistrate, who shall cause it to be served in the manner provided for the service of summonses under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

26. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to prevent any person from being prosecuted under any other law for any act or omission which constitutes an offence against this Act.

VIII

THE INDIAN PRESS (EMERGENCY POWERS) ACT, 1931

An Act to provide against the publication of matter inciting to or encouraging murder or violence.

Whereas it is expedient to provide against the publication of matter inciting to or encouraging murder or violence; It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. (1) This Act may be called the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India, inclusive of British Baluchistan and the Santhal Parganas.

(3) It shall remain in force for one year only, but the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct that it shall remain in force for a further period not exceeding one year.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context:

(1) "book" includes every volume, part or division of a volume, pamphlet and leaflet, in any language, and every sheet of music, map, chart or plan separately printed or lithographed;

(2) "document" includes also any painting, drawing or photograph or other visible representation;

(3) "High Court" means the highest Civil Court of Appeal for any local area except in the case of the province of Coorg where it means the High Court of Judicature at Madras;

(4) "Magistrate" means a District Magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate;

(5) "newspaper" means any periodical work containing public news or comments on public news;

(6) "news-sheet" means any document other than a newspaper containing public news or comments on public news or any matter described in sub-section (1) of section 4;

(7) "press" includes a printing-press and all machines, implements and plant and parts thereof and all materials used for multiplying documents;

(8) "printing-press" includes all engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, implements, utensils and other plant or materials used for the purpose of printing;

(9) "unauthorised newspaper" means :

(*a*) any newspaper in respect of which there are not for the time being valid declarations under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and

(*b*) any newspaper in respect of which security has been required under this Act, but has not been furnished as required;

(10) "unauthorised news-sheet" means any news-sheet other than a news-sheet published by a person authorised under

section 15 to publish it; and

(11) "undeclared press" means any press other than a press in respect of which there is for the time being a valid declaration under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

CONTROL OF PRINTING-PRESSES AND NEWSPAPERS

3. (1) Any person keeping a printing-press who is required to make a declaration under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, may be required by the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made, for reasons to be recorded in writing, to deposit with the Magistrate within ten days from the day on which the declaration is made, security to such an amount, not being more than one thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India as the person making the deposit may choose:

Provided that if a deposit has been required under sub-section (3) from any previous keeper of the printing-press, the security which may be required under this sub-section may amount to three thousand rupees.

(2) Where security required under sub-section (1) has been deposited in respect of any printing-press, and for a period of three months from the date of the declaration mentioned in sub-section (1) no order is made by the Local Government under section 4 in respect of such press, the security shall, on application by the keeper of the press, be refunded.

(3) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing-press kept in any place in the territories under its administration, in respect of which security under the provisions of this Act has not been required, or having been required has been refunded under sub-section (2), is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of the press stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, order the keeper to deposit with the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction the press is situated security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than three thousand rupees as the Local Government may think fit to require,

in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India as the person making the deposit may choose.

(4) Such notice shall appoint a date, not being sooner than the tenth day after the date of the issue of the notice, on or before which the deposit shall be made.

4. (1) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing-press in respect of which any security has been ordered to be deposited under section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which:

(*a*) incite to or encourage, or tend to incite to or to encourage, the commission of any offence of murder or any cognizable offence involving violence, or

(*b*) directly or indirectly express approval or admiration of any such offence, or of any person, real or fictitious, who has committed or is alleged or represented to have committed any such offence, the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing the words, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described above:

(*i*) where security has been deposited, declare such security, or any portion thereof, to be forfeited to His Majesty, or

(*ii*) where security has not been deposited, declare the press to be forfeited to His Majesty,

and may also declare all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found in British India to be forfeited to His Majesty.

Explanation. No expression of approval or admiration made in a historical or literary work shall be deemed to be of the nature described in this sub-section unless it has the tendency described in clause (*a*).

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1) declaring a security, or any portion thereof, to be forfeited, the declaration made in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

5. (1) Where the security given in respect of any press, or any portion thereof, has been declared forfeited under section 4 or section 6, every person making a fresh declaration in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books

Act, 1867, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom such declaration is made security to such an amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India as the person making the deposit may choose.

(2) Where a portion only of the security given in respect of such press has been declared forfeited under section 4 or section 6, any unforfeited balance still in deposit shall be taken as part of the amount of security required under sub-section (1).

6. (1) If, after security has been deposited under section 5, the printing-press is again used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which, in the opinion of the Local Government, are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare:

(*a*) the further security so deposited, or any portion thereof, and

(*b*) all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found in British India, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the issue of a notice under sub-section (1), the declaration made in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

7. (1) Any publisher of a newspaper who is required to make a declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, may be required by the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made, for reasons to be recorded in writing, to deposit with the Magistrate within ten days from the day on which the declaration is made, security to such an amount, not being more than one thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India as the person making the deposit may choose:

Provided that if a deposit has been required under sub-section (3) from any previous publisher of the newspaper, the security which may be required under this sub-section may amount to three thousand rupees.

(2) Where security required under sub-section (1) has been

deposited in respect of any newspaper, and for a period of three months from the date of the declaration mentioned in sub-section (1) no order is made by the Local Government under section 8 in respect of such newspaper, the security shall, on application by the publisher of the newspaper, be refunded.

(3) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that a newspaper published within its territories, in respect of which security under the provisions of this Act has not been required, or having been required has been refunded under sub-section (2), contains any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, require the publisher to deposit with the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction the newspaper is published, security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than three thousand rupees, as the Local Government may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India as the person making the deposit may choose.

(4) Such notice shall appoint a date, not being sooner than the tenth day after the date of the issue of the notice, on or before which the deposit shall be made.

8. (1) If any newspaper in respect of which any security has been ordered to be deposited under section 7 contains any words, signs or visible representations which, in the opinion of the Local Government, are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations,

(*a*) where the security has been deposited, declare such security, or any portion thereof, to be forfeited to His Majesty, or

(*b*) where the security has not been deposited, annul the declaration made by the publisher of such newspaper under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867,

and may also declare all copies of such newspaper, wherever found in British India, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1) declaring a security, or any portion thereof, to be forfeited, the declaration made by the publisher of such newspaper under section 5 of the Press and Registration of

Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

9. (1) Where the security given in respect of any newspaper, or any portion thereof, is declared forfeited under section 8 or section 10 any person making a fresh declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, as publisher of such newspaper, or any other newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such an amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India as the person making the deposit may choose.

(2) Where a portion only of the security given in respect of such newspaper has been declared forfeited under section 8 or section 10, any unforfeited balance still in deposit shall be taken as part of the amount of security required under sub-section (1).

10. (1) If, after security has been deposited under section 9, the newspaper again contains any words, signs or visible representations which, in the opinion of the Local Government, are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare:

(*a*) the further security so deposited, or any portion thereof, and

(*b*) all copies of such newspapers wherever found in British India to be forfeited to His Majesty.

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1), the declaration made by the publisher of such newspaper under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled and no further declaration in respect of such newspaper shall be made save with the permission of the Local Government.

11. (1) Whoever keeps in his possession a press which is used for the printing of books or papers without making a deposit under section 3 or section 5, as required by the Local Government or the Magistrate as the case may be, shall on conviction by a Magistrate be liable to the penalty to which he would be liable if he had failed to make the declaration prescribed by section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

(2) Whoever publishes any newspaper without making a deposit under section 7 or section 9, as required by the Local Government

or the Magistrate as the case may be, or publishes such newspaper knowing that such security has not been deposited, shall on conviction by a Magistrate be liable to the penalty to which he would be liable if he had failed to make the declaration prescribed by section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

12. (1) Where a deposit is required from the keeper of a printing-press under section 3, such press shall not be used for the printing or publishing of any newspaper, book or other document after the expiry of the time allowed to make the deposit until the deposit has been made, and where a deposit is required from the keeper of a printing-press under section 5, such press shall not be so used until the deposit has been made.

(2) Where any printing-press is used in contravention of sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper thereof, declare the press to be forfeited to His Majesty.

(3) Where a deposit is required from the publisher of a newspaper under section 7 and the deposit is not made within the time allowed, the declaration made by the publisher under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

13. Where any person has deposited any security under this Act and ceases to keep the press in respect of which such security was deposited, or, being a publisher, makes a declaration under section 8 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, he may apply to the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction such press is situate for the return of the said security; and thereupon such security shall, upon proof to the satisfaction of the Magistrate and subject to the provisions hereinbefore contained, be returned to such person.

14. Where any printing-press is, or any copies of any newspaper, book or other document are, declared forfeited to His Majesty under section 6, section 8, section 10 or section 12, the Local Government may direct a Magistrate to issue a warrant empowering any police-officer, not below the rank of Sub-Inspector, to seize and detain any property ordered to be forfeited and to enter upon and search for such property in any premises:

(*i*) where any such property may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, or

(*ii*) where any copy of such newspaper, book or other document is kept for sale, distribution, publication or public exhibition or is reasonably suspected to be so kept.

UNAUTHORISED NEWS-SHEETS AND NEWSPAPERS

15. (1) The Magistrate may, by order in writing and subject to such conditions as he may think fit to impose, authorise any person by name to publish a news-sheet, or to publish news-sheets from time to time.

(2) A copy of an order under sub-section (1) shall be furnished to the person thereby authorised.

(3) The Magistrate may at any time revoke an order made by him under sub-section (1).

16. (1) Any police-officer, or any other person empowered in this behalf by the Local Government, may seize any unauthorised news-sheet or unauthorised newspaper, wherever found.

(2) Any Presidency Magistrate, District Magistrate, Sub-divisional Magistrate or Magistrate of the first class may by warrant authorise any police-officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector to enter upon and search any place where any stock of unauthorised news-sheets or unauthorised newspapers may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, and such police-officer may seize any documents found in such place which, in his opinion, are unauthorised news-sheets or unauthorised newspapers.

(3) All documents seized under sub-section (1) shall be produced as soon as may be before a Presidency Magistrate, District Magistrate, Sub-divisional Magistrate or Magistrate of the first class, and all documents seized under sub-section (2) shall be produced as soon as may be before the Court of the Magistrate who issued the warrant.

(4) If, in the opinion of such Magistrate or Court, any of such documents are authorised news-sheets or unauthorised newspapers, the Magistrate or Court may cause them to be destroyed. If, in the opinion of such Magistrate or Court, any of such documents are not unauthorised news-sheets or unauthorised newspapers, such Magistrate or Court shall dispose of them in the manner provided in sections 523, 524 and 525 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

17. (1) Where a Presidency Magistrate, District Magistrate or Sub-divisional Magistrate has reason to believe that an unauthorised news-sheet or unauthorised newspaper is being produced from an undeclared press within the limits of his jurisdiction, he may by warrant authorise any police-officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector to enter upon and search any place wherein such

undeclared press may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, and if, in the opinion of such police-officer, any press found in such place is an undeclared press and is used to produce an unauthorised news-sheet or unauthorised newspaper, he may seize such press and any documents found in the place which in his opinion are unauthorised news-sheets or unauthorised newspapers.

(2) The police-officer shall make a report of the search to the Court which issued the warrant and shall produce before such Court, as soon as may be, all property seized:

Provided that where any press which has been seized cannot be readily removed, the police-officer may produce before the Court only such parts thereof as he may think fit.

(3) If such Court, after such inquiry as it may deem requisite, is of opinion that a press seized under this section is an undeclared press which is used to produce an unauthorised news-sheet or unauthorised newspaper, it may, by order in writing, declare the press to be forfeited to His Majesty. If, after such inquiry, the Court is not of such opinion, it shall dispose of the press in the manner provided in sections 523, 524 and 525 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

(4) The Court shall deal with documents produced before it under this section in the manner provided in sub-section (4) of section 16.

18. (1) Whoever makes, sells, distributes, publishes or publicly exhibits or keeps for sale, distribution or publication, any unauthorised news-sheet or newspaper, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, any offence punishable under sub-section (1), and any abetment of any such offence, shall be cognisable.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE SEIZURE OF CERTAIN DOCUMENTS

19. Where any newspaper, book or other document wherever made appears to the Local Government to contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion, declare every copy of the issue of the newspaper, and every copy of such book or other document to be forfeited to His Majesty, and there-

upon any police-officer may seize the same wherever found in British India, and any Magistrate may by warrant authorise any police-officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector to enter upon and search for the same in any premises where any copy of such issue or any such book or other document may be or may be reasonably suspected to be.

20. The Chief Customs-officer or other officer authorised by the Local Government in this behalf may detain any package brought, whether by land, sea or air, into British India which he suspects to contain any newspapers, books or other documents of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) and shall forthwith forward copies of any newspapers, books or other documents found therein to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the Local Government may direct.

21. No unauthorised news-sheet or unauthorised newspaper shall be transmitted by post.

22. Any officer in charge of a post-office or authorised by the Post-Master General in this behalf may detain any article other than a letter or parcel in course of transmission by post, which he suspects to contain:

(*a*) any newspaper, book or other document containing words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), or

(*b*) any unauthorised news-sheet or unauthorised newspaper, and shall deliver all such articles to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the Local Government may direct.

POWERS OF HIGH COURT

23. (1) The keeper of a printing-press who has been ordered to deposit security under sub-section (3) of section 3, or the publisher of a newspaper who has been ordered to deposit security under sub-section (3) of section 7, or any person having an interest in any property in respect of which an order of forfeiture has been made under section 4, section 6, section 8, section 10 or section 19 may, within two months from the date of such order, apply to the High Court for the local area in which such order was made, to set aside such order, and the High Court shall decide if the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order was made did

or did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1).

(2) The keeper of a printing-press in respect of which an order of foreiture has been made under sub-section (2) of section 12 on the ground that it has been used in contravention of sub-section (1) of that section may apply to such High Court to set aside the order on the ground that the press was not so used.

24. Every such application shall be heard and determined by a Special Bench of the High Court composed of three Judges, or, where the High Court consists of less than three judges, of all the Judges.

25. (1) If it appears to the Special Bench on an application under sub-section (1) of section 23 that the words, signs or visible representations contained in the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order in question was made were not of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Special Bench shall set aside the order.

(2) If it appears to the Special Bench on an application under sub-section (2) of section 23 that the printing-press was not used in contravention of sub-section (1) of section 12, it shall set aside the order of forfeiture.

(3) Where there is a difference of opinion among the Judges forming the Special Bench, the decision shall be in accordance with the opinion of the majority (if any) of those Judges.

(4) Where there is no such majority which concurs in setting aside the order in question, the order shall stand.

26. On the hearing of an application under sub-section (1) of section 23 with reference to any newspaper, any copy of such newspaper published after the commencement of this Act may be given in evidence in aid of the proof of the nature or tendency of the words, signs or visible representations contained in such newspaper, in respect of which the order was made.

27. Every High Court shall, as soon as conveniently may be, frame rules to regulate the procedure in the case of such applications, the amount of the costs thereof and the execution of orders passed thereon, and until such rules are framed the practice of such Court in proceedings other than suits and appeals shall apply, so far as may be practicable, to such applications.

SUPPLEMENTAL

28. Every notice under this Act shall be sent to a Magistrate,

who shall cause it to be served in the manner provided for the service of summonses under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898:

Provided that if service in such manner cannot by the exercise of due diligence be effected, the serving officer shall, where the notice is directed to the keeper of a press, affix a copy thereof to some conspicuous part of the place where the press is situate, as described in the keeper's declaration under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and where the notice is directed to the publisher of a newspaper, to some conspicuous part of the premises where the publication of such newspaper is conducted, as given in the publisher's declaration under section 5 of the said Act; and thereupon the notice shall be deemed to have been duly served.

29. Every warrant issued under this Act shall, so far as it relates to a search, be executed in the manner provided for the execution of search warrants under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

30. Every declaration of forfeiture purporting to be made under this Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place, and no proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act shall be called in question by any Court, except the High Court on application under section 23, and no civil or criminal proceeding, except as provided by this Act, shall be instituted against any person for anything done or in good faith intended to be done under this Act.

31. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to prevent any person for being prosecuted under any other law for any act or omission which constitutes an offence against this Act.

32. So long as this Act remains in force, all declarations required to be made under section 4, section 5, section 8 and section 8A of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be made, in a Presidency-town before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, and elsewhere before the District Magistrate.

APPENDIX II

The Press and Registration of Books Act

(ACT 25 OF 1867 WITH AMENDMENTS UP TO 1960)

An Act for the Regulation of Printing-Presses and Newspapers, for the preservation of copies of books and newspapers printed in India, and for the registration of such books and newspapers.

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the regulation of printing-presses and of newspapers printed in India and for the registration of such books and newspapers: It is hereby enacted as follows:

PART I: PRELIMINARY

1. In this Act, unless there shall be something repugnant in the subject or context:

'Book' includes every volume, part or division of a volume, and pamphlet, in any language, and every sheet of music, map, chart or plan separately printed;

'Editor' means the person who controls the selection of the matter that is published in a newspaper;

'India' means the territory of India excluding the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

'Magistrate' means any person exercising the full powers of a Magistrate and includes a Magistrate of Police;

'Newspaper' means any printed periodical work containing public news or comments on public news;

'Paper' means any document including a newspaper, other than a book;

'Prescribed' means prescribed by rules made by the Central Government under section 20A;

'Press Registrar' means the Registrar of newspapers in India appointed by the Central Government under Section 19A and includes any other person appointed by the Central Government to perform all or any of the functions of the Press Registrar;

'Printing' includes cyclostyling and printing by lithography;

'Register' means the Register of newspapers maintained under section 19B.

PART II: OF PRINTING-PRESSES AND NEWSPAPERS

3. Every book or paper printed within India shall have printed legibly on it the name of the printer and the place of printing, and if the book or paper be published the name of the publisher and the place of publication.

4. (1) No person shall, within India, keep in his possession any press for the printing of books or papers, who shall not have made and subscribed the following declaration before the District, Presidency or Sub-Divisional Magistrate within whose local jurisdiction such press may be: "I, A. B., declare that I have a press for printing at——————————." And this last blank shall be filled up with a true and precise description of the place where such press may be situate.

(2) As often as the place where a press is kept is changed, a new declaration shall be necessary:

Provided that where the change is for a period not exceeding sixty days and the place where the press is kept after the change is within the local jurisdiction of the Magistrate referred to in sub-section (1), no new declaration shall be necessary if (*a*) a statement relating to the change is furnished to the said Magistrate within twenty-four hours thereof; and (*b*) the keeper of the press continues to be the same.

5. (1) Every copy of every newspaper shall contain the names of the owner and editor thereof printed clearly on such copy in such form and manner as may be prescribed, and also the date of its publication.

(2) The printer and the publisher of every such newspaper shall appear in person or by agent authorised in this behalf in accordance with rules made under section 20, before a District, Presidency or Sub-Divisional Magistrate within whose local jurisdiction such newspaper shall be printed or published, and shall make and subscribe, in duplicate, the following declaration: "I, A. B., declare that I am the printer (or publisher or printer and publisher) of the newspaper entitled——————and to be printed or published or printed and published, *as the case may be* at——————." And the last blank in this form of declaration shall be filled up

with a true and precise account of the premises where the printing or publication is conducted:

(2A) Every declaration under rule (2) shall specify the title of the newspaper, the language in which it is to be published and the periodicity of its publication and shall contain such other particulars as may be prescribed.

(2B) Where the printer or publisher of a newspaper making a declaration under rule (2) is not the owner thereof, the declaration shall specify the name of the owner and shall also be accompanied by an authority in writing from the owner authorising such person to make and subscribe such declaration.

(2C) A declaration in respect of a newspaper made under rule (2) and authenticated under section 6 shall be necessary before the newspaper can be published.

(2D) Where the title of any newspaper or its language or the periodicity of its publication or its ownership is changed, the declaration shall cease to have effect and a new declaration shall be necessary before the publication of the newspaper can be continued.

(3) As often as the place of printing or publication is changed, a new declaration shall be necessary:

Provided that where the change is for a period not exceeding thirty days and the place of printing or publication after the change is within the local jurisdiction of the Magistrate referred to in rule (2), no new declaration shall be necessary if (*a*) a statement relating to the change is furnished to the said Magistrate within twenty-four hours thereof; and (*b*) the printer or publisher or the printer and publisher of the newspaper continues to be the same.

(4) As often as the printer or the publisher who shall have made such declaration as is aforesaid shall leave India for a period exceeding thirty days or where such printer or publisher is by infirmity or otherwise rendered incapable of carrying out his duties for a period exceeding thirty days in circumstances not involving the vacation of his appointment, a new declaration shall be necessary.

(5) Every declaration made in respect of a newspaper shall be void, where the newspaper does not commence publication (*a*) within six weeks of the authentication of the declaration under section 6, in the case of a newspaper to be published once a week or oftener; and (*b*) within three months of the authentication of the declaration, in the case of any other newspaper; and in every such

case, a new declaration shall be necessary before the newspaper can be published.

(6) Where, in any period of three months, any daily, tri-weekly, bi-weekly, weekly or fortnightly newspaper publishes issues the number of which is less than half of what should have been published in accordance with the declaration made thereof, the declaration shall cease to have effect and a new declaration shall be necessary before the publication of the newspaper can be continued.

(7) Where any other newspaper has ceased publication for a period exceeding twelve months, every declaration made in respect thereof shall cease to have effect, and a new declaration shall be necessary before the newspaper can be republished.

(8) Every existing declaration in respect of a newspaper shall be cancelled by the Magistrate before whom a new declaration is made and subscribed in respect of the same:

Provided that no person who does not ordinarily reside in India or who has not attained majority in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Majority Act, 1875, or of the law to which he is subject in respect of the attainment of majority, shall be permitted to make the declaration prescribed by this section, nor shall any such person edit a newspaper.

6. Each of the two originals of every declaration so made and subscribed as is aforesaid, shall be authenticated by the signature and official seal of the Magistrate before whom the said declaration shall have been made:

Provided that where any declaration is made and subscribed under section 5 in respect of a newspaper, the declaration shall not, save in the case of newspapers owned by the same person, be so authenticated unless the Magistrate is, on inquiry from the Press Registrar, satisfied that the newspaper proposed to be published does not bear a title which is the same as, or similar to, that of any other newspaper published in the same language or in the same State.

One of the said originals shall be deposited among the records of the office of the Magistrate, and the other shall be deposited among the records of the High Court of Judicature, or other principal Civil Court of original jurisdiction for the place where the said declaration shall have been made.

The Officer-in-Charge of each original shall allow any person to inspect that original on payment of a fee of one rupee, and shall

give to any person applying a copy of the said declaration, attested by the seal of the Court which has custody of the original on payment of a fee of two rupees.

A copy of the declaration attested by the official seal of the Magistrate, or a copy of the order refusing to authenticate the declaration, shall be forwarded as soon as possible to the person making and subscribing the declaration and also to the Press Registrar.

7. In any legal proceeding whatever, as well civil as criminal, the production of a copy of such declaration as is aforesaid, attested by the seal of some Court empowered by this Act to have the custody of such declarations, or, in the case of the editor, a copy of the newspaper containing his name printed on it as that of the editor shall be held (unless the contrary is proved) to be sufficient evidence, as against the person whose name shall be subscribed to such declaration, or printed on such newspaper, as the case may be, that the said person was printer or publisher, or printer and publisher (according as the words of the said declaration may be) of every portion of every newspaper whereof the title shall correspond with the title of the newspaper mentioned in the declaration or the editor of every portion of that issue of the newspaper of which a copy is produced.

8. If any person has subscribed to any declaration in respect of a newspaper under section 5 and the declaration has been authenticated by a Magistrate under section 6 and subsequently that person ceases to be the printer or publisher of the newspaper mentioned in such declaration, he shall appear before any District, Presidency or Sub-divisional Magistrate, and make and subscribe in duplicate the following declaration: "I, A. B., declare that I have ceased to be the printer or publisher or printer and publisher of the newspaper entitled————————." Each original of the latter declaration shall be authenticated by the signature and seal of the Magistrate before whom the said latter declaration is made, and one original of the said latter declaration shall be filed along with each original of the former declaration.

The Officer-in-Charge of each original of the latter declaration shall allow any person applying to inspect that original on payment of a fee of one rupee, and shall give to any person applying a copy of the said latter declaration, attested by the seal of the Court having custody of the original, on payment of a fee of two rupees.

In all trials in which a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the former

declaration shall have been put in evidence, it shall be lawful to put in evidence a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the latter declaration, and the former declaration shall not be taken to be evidence that the declarant was at any period subsequent to the date of the latter declaration, printer or publisher of the newspaper therein mentioned.

A copy of the latter declaration attested by the official seal of the Magistrate shall be forwarded to the Press Registrar.

(8A) If any person, whose name has appeared as editor on a copy of a newspaper, claims that he was not the editor of the issue in which his name has so appeared, he may, within two weeks of his becoming aware that his name has been so published, appear before a District, Presidency or Sub-Divisional Magistrate and make a declaration that his name was incorrectly published in that issue as that of the editor thereof, and if the Magistrate, after making such inquiry or causing such inquiry to be made as he may consider necessary, is satisfied that such declaration is true, he shall certify accordingly, and on that certificate being given the provisions of section 7 shall not aply to that person in respect of that issue of the newspaper.

The Magistrate may extend the period allowed by this section in any case where he is satisfied that such person was prevented by sufficient cause from appearing and making the declaration within such period.

(8B) If, on an application made to him by the Press Registrar or any other person or otherwise, the Magistrate empowered to authenticate a declaration under this Act, is of opinion that any declaration made in respect of a newspaper should be cancelled, he may, after giving the person concerned an opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken, hold an inquiry into the matter and if, after considering the cause, if any, shown by such person and after giving him an opportunity to be heard, he is satisfied that (*i*) the newspaper, in respect of which the declaration has been made is being published in contravention of the provisions of this Act or rules made thereunder; or (*ii*) the newspaper mentioned in the declaration bears a title which is the same as, or similar to, that of any other newspaper published either in the same language or in the same State; or (*iii*) the printer or publisher has ceased to be the printer or publisher of the newspaper published in such declaration; or (*iv*) the declaration was made on false

representation or on the concealment of any material fact or in respect of a periodical work which is not a newspaper; the Magistrate may, by order, cancel the declaration and shall forward as soon as possible a copy of the order to the person making or subscribing the declaration and also to the Press Registrar.

(8C) (1) Any person aggrieved by an order of a Magistrate refusing to authenticate a declaration under section 6 or cancelling a declaration under section 8B may, within sixty days from the date on which such order is communicated to him, prefer an appeal to the Appellate Board to be called the Press and Registration Appellate Board consisting of a Chairman and another member to be appointed by the Central Government:

Provided that the Appellate Board may entertain an appeal after the expiry of the said period, if it is satisfied that the appellant was prevented by sufficient cause from preferring the appeal in time.

(2) On receipt of an appeal under this section, the Appellate Board may, after calling for the records from the Magistrate and after making such further inquiries as it thinks fit, confirm, modify or set aside the order appealed against.

(3) Subject to the provisions contained in sub-section (2), the Appellate Board may, by order, regulate its practice and procedure.

(4) The decision of the Appellate Board shall be final.

PART III: DELIVERY OF BOOKS

9. Printed copies of the whole of every book which shall be printed in India after this Act shall come into force, together with all maps, prints or other engravings belonging thereto, finished and coloured in the same manner as the best copies of the same, shall, notwithstanding any agreement (if the book be published) between the printer and publisher thereof, be delivered by the printer at such place and to such officer as the State Government shall, by notification in the Official Gazette, from time to time direct, and free of expense to the Government, as follows, that is to say: (*a*) in any case, within one calendar month after the day on which any such book shall first be delivered out of the press, one such copy, and (*b*) if within one calendar year from such day the State Government shall require the printer to deliver other such copies not exceeding two in number, then within one calendar month after the day on which any such requisition shall be made by the State Government on the printer, another such copy, or two other such copies, as

the State Government may direct, the copies so delivered being bound, sewed or stitched together and upon the best paper on which any copies of the book shall be printed.

The publisher or other person employing the printer shall, at a reasonable time before the expiration of the said month, supply him with all maps, prints and engravings finished and coloured as aforesaid, which may be necessary to enable him to comply with the requirements aforesaid.

Nothing in the former part of this section shall apply to (*i*) any second or subsequent edition of a book in which edition no additions or alterations either in the letter-press or in the maps, prints or other engravings belonging to the book have been made, and a copy of the first or some preceding edition of which book has been delivered under this Act, or (*ii*) any newspaper published in conformity with the rules laid down in section 5 of this Act.

10. The officer to whom a copy of a book is delivered under the last foregoing section shall give to the printer a receipt in writing thereof.

11. The copy delivered pursuant to clause (*a*) of the first paragraph of section 9 of this Act shall be disposed of as the State Government shall from time to time determine.

Any copy delivered pursuant to clause (*b*) of the said paragraph shall be transmitted to the Central Government.

(11A) The printer of every newspaper in India shall deliver to such place and such officer as the State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, direct, and free of expense to the Government, two copies of each issue of such newspaper as soon as it is published.

(11B) Subject to any rules that may be made under this Act, the publisher of every newspaper in India shall deliver free of expense to the Press Registrar one copy of each issue of such newspaper as soon as it is published.

PART IV: PENALTIES

12. Whoever shall print or publish any book or paper otherwise than in conformity with the rule contained in section 3 of this Act shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding two thousand rupees, or by simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or by both.

13. Whoever shall keep in his possession any such press as aforesaid

in contravention of any of the provisions contained in section 4 of this Act shall on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding two thousand rupees, or by simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or by both.

14. Any person who shall, in making any declaration or other statement under the authority of this Act, make a statement which is false, and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true, shall on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding two thousand rupees, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months.

15 (1) Whoever shall edit, print or publish any newspaper without conforming to the rules hereinbefore laid down, or whoever shall edit, print or publish or shall cause to be edited, printed or published, any newspaper knowing that the said rules have not been observed with respect to that newspaper, shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished with fine not exceeding two thousand rupees, or imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or both.

(2) Where an offence is committed in relation to a newspaper under sub-section (1), the Magistrate may, in addition to the punishment imposed under the said sub-section, also cancel the declaration in respect of the newspaper.

(15A) If any person who has ceased to be printer or publisher of any newspaper fails or neglects to make a declaration in compliance with section 8, he shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punishable by fine not exceeding two hundred rupees.

16. If any printer of any such book as is referred to in section 9 of this Act, shall neglect to deliver copies of the same pursuant to that section, he shall for every such default forfeit to the Government such sum not exceeding fifty rupees as a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the book was printed may, on the application of the officer to whom the copies should have been delivered or any person authorised by that officer in this behalf, determine to be in the circumstances a reasonable penalty for the default, and, in addition to such sum, such further sum as the Magistrate may determine to be the value of the copies which the printer ought to have delivered.

If any publisher or other person employing any such printer shall neglect to supply him, in the manner prescribed in the second paragraph of section 9 of this Act, with the maps, prints or engravings which may be necessary to enable him to comply with the pro-

visions of that section, such publisher or other person shall for every such default forfeit to the Government such sum not exceeding rupees fifty as such a Magistrate as aforesaid may, on such application as aforesaid, determine to be in the circumstances a reasonable penalty for the default, and, in addition to such sum, such further sum as the Magistrate may determine to be the value of the maps, prints or engravings which such publisher or other person ought to have supplied.

(16A) If any printer of any newspaper published in India neglects to deliver copies of the same in compliance with section 11A, he shall, on the complaint of the officer to whom copies should have been delivered or of any person authorised by that officer in this behalf, be punishable, on conviction by a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the newspaper was printed, with fine which may extend to fifty rupees for every default.

(16B) If any publisher of any newspaper published in India neglects to deliver copies of the same in compliance with section 11B, he shall, on the complaint of the Press Registrar, be punishable, on conviction by a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the newspaper was printed, by fine which may extend to fifty rupees for every default.

17. Any sum forfeited to the Government under section 16 may be recovered, under the warrant of the Magistrate determining the sum, or of his successor in office, in the manner authorised by the Code of Criminal Procedure for the time being in force, and within the period prescribed by the Indian Penal Code for the levy of a fine.

PART V: REGISTRATION OF BOOKS

18. There shall be kept at such office, and by such officer as the State Government shall appoint in this behalf, a book to be called a Catalogue of Books printed in India, wherein shall be registered a memorandum of every book which shall have been delivered pursuant to clause (*a*) of the first paragraph of section 9 of this Act. Such memorandum shall (so far as may be practicable) contain the following particulars (that is to say):

(1) the title of the book and the contents of the title-page, with a translation into English of such title and contents, when the same are not in the English language;

(2) the language in which the book is written;

(3) the name of the author, translator or editor of the book or any part thereof;
(4) the subject;
(5) the place of printing and the place of publication;
(6) the name or firm of the printer and the name or firm of the publisher;
(7) the date of issue from the press or of the publication;
(8) the number of sheets, leaves or pages;
(9) the size;
(10) the first, second or other number of the edition;
(11) the number of copies of which the edition consists;
(12) whether the book is printed, cyclostyled or lithographed;
(13) the price at which the book is sold to the public; and
(14) the name and residence of the proprietor of the copyright or of any portion of such copyright.

Such memorandum shall be made and registered in the case of each book as soon as is practicable after the delivery of the copy thereof pursuant to clause (*a*) of the first paragraph of section 9.

19. The memoranda registered during each quarter in the said Catalogue shall be published in the Official Gazette as soon as may be after the end of each quarter, and a copy of the memoranda so published shall be sent to the Central Government.

PART VA: REGISTRATION OF NEWSPAPERS

(19A) The Central Government may appoint a Registrar of newspapers for India and such other officers under the general superintendence and control of the Press Registrar as may be necessary for the purpose of performing the functions assigned to them by or under this Act, and may, by general or special order, provide for the distribution or allocation of functions to be performed by them under this Act.

(19B) (1) The Press Registrar shall maintain in the prescribed manner a Register of newspapers.

(2) The Register shall, as far as may be practicable, contain the following particulars about every newspaper published in India, namely: (*a*) the title of the newspaper; (*b*) the language in which the newspaper is published; (*c*) periodicity of the publication of the newspaper; (*d*) the name of the editor, printer and publisher of the newspaper; (*e*) the place of printing and publication; (*f*) the

average number of pages per week; (*g*) the number of days of publication in the year; (*h*) the average number of copies printed, the average number of copies sold to the public and the average number of copies distributed free to the public, the average being calculated with reference to such period as may be prescribed; (*i*) retail selling price per copy; (*j*) the names and addresses of the owners of the newspapers and such other particulars relating to ownership as may be prescribed; (*k*) any other particulars which may be prescribed.

(3) On receiving information from time to time about the aforesaid particulars, the Press Registrar shall cause relevant entries to be made in the Register and may make such necessary alterations or corrections therein as may be required for keeping the Register up-to-date.

(19C) On receiving from the Magistrate under section 6 a copy of the declaration in respect of a newspaper and on the publication of such newspaper, the Press Registrar shall, as soon as practicable thereafter, issue a certificate of registration in respect of that newspaper to the publisher thereof.

(19D) It shall be the duty of the publisher of every newspaper (*a*) to furnish to the Press Registrar an annual statement in respect of the newspaper at such time and containing such particulars referred to in sub-section (2) of section 19B as may be prescribed; (*b*) to publish in the newspaper at such times and such of the particulars relating to the newspaper referred to in sub-section (2) of section 19B as may be specified in this behalf by the Press Registrar.

(19E) The publisher of every newspaper shall furnish to the Press Registrar such returns, statistics and other information with respect to any of the particulars referred to in sub-section (2) of section 19B as the Press Registrar may from time to time require.

(19F) The Press Registrar or any gazetted officer authorised by him in writing in this behalf shall, for the purpose of the collection of any information relating to a newspaper under this Act, have access to any relevant record or document relating to the newspaper in the possession of the publisher thereof, and may enter at any reasonable time any premises where he believes such record or document to be and may inspect or take copies of the relevant records or documents or ask any question necessary for obtaining any information required to be furnished under this Act.

(19G) The Press Registrar shall prepare, in such form and at

such time each year as may be prescribed, an annular report containing a summary of the information obtained by him during the previous year in respect of the newspapers in India and giving an account of the working of such newspapers, and copies thereof shall be forwarded to the Central Government.

(19H) On the application of any person for the supply of the copy of any extract from the Register and on payment of such fee as may be prescribed, the Press Registrar shall furnish such copy to the applicant in such form and manner as may be prescribed.

(19I) Subject to the provisions of this Act and regulations made thereunder, the Press Registrar may delegate all or any of his powers under this Act to any officer subordinate to him.

(19J) The Press Registrar and all officers appointed under this Act shall be deemed to be public servants within the meaning of section 21 of the Indian Penal Code.

(19K) If the publisher of any newspaper (*a*) refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of section 19D or Section 19E; or (*b*) publishes in the newspaper in pursuance of clause (*b*) of section 19D any particulars relating to the newspaper which he has reason to believe to be false; he shall be punishable with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees.

(19L) If any person engaged in connection with the collection of information under this Act wilfully discloses any information or the contents of any return given or furnished under this Act otherwise than in the execution of his duties under this Act or for the purposes of the prosecution of an offence under this Act or under the Indian Penal Code, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

PART VI: MISCELLANEOUS

20. The State Government shall have power to make such rules not inconsistent with the rules made by the Central Government under section 20A as may be necessary or desirable for carrying out the objects of this Act, and from time to time repeal, alter and add to such rules.

(20A) (1) The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules (*a*) prescribing the particulars which a declaration made and subscribed under section 5 may contain and the form and manner in which the names of the owner and the editor

shall be printed on every copy of a newspaper; (*b*) prescribing the manner in which copies of any declaration attested by the official seal of a Magistrate may be forwarded to the Press Registrar and to the person making and subscribing the declaration; (*c*) prescribing the manner in which copies of any newspaper may be sent to the Press Registrar under section 11B; (*d*) prescribing the manner in which a Register may be maintained under section 19B and the particulars which it may contain; (*e*) prescribing the particulars which an annual statement to be furnished by the publisher of a newspaper to the Press Registrar may contain; (*f*) prescribing the form and manner in which an annual statement under section 19D, or any returns, statistics or other information under section 19E, may be furnished to the Press Registrar; (*g*) prescribing the fees for furnishing copies of extracts from the Register and the manner in which such copies may be furnished; (*h*) prescribing the manner in which a certificate of registration may be issued in respect of a newspaper; (*i*) prescribing the form in which, and the time within which, annual reports may be prepared by the Press Registrar and forwarded to the Central Government.

(2) Every rule made under this section shall be laid as soon as may be after it is made before each House of Parliament while it is in session for a total period of thirty days which may be comprised in one session or in two successive sessions, and if before the expiry of the session in which it is so laid or the session immediately following, both Houses agree in making any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be; so however that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

(20B) Any rule made under any provision of this Act may provide that any contravention thereof shall be punishable with fine which may extend to one hundred rupees.

21. The State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, exclude any class of books or papers from the operation of the whole or any part or parts of this Act.

Provided that no such notification shall be issued without consulting the Central Government.

22. This Act extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

APPENDIX III

Leading Newspapers

THE following information is taken from the Annual Report for 1960 of the Press Registrar:

Given below are lists of leading newspapers in the country prepared on the basis of their circulation.

The first contains the names of leading dailies and periodicals with circulation above 50,000. The second list contains the names of dailies and periodicals, arranged language-wise, with circulation between 20,000 and 50,000.

I. Dailies & Periodicals Whose Circulation is Above 50,000

DAILIES

*1. INDIAN EXPRESS, *English* (Delhi, Bombay, Madurai, Vijayawada and Chittoor).
*2. TIMES OF INDIA, *English* (Bombay and Delhi).
*3. THANTHI, *Tamil* (Madras, Madurai & Tiruchirappalli).
*4. HINDU, *English* (Madras).
*5. STATESMAN, *English* (Calcutta and Delhi).
*6. NAV BHARAT TIMES, *Hindi* (Bombay and Delhi).
*7. DINAMANI, *Tamil* (Madurai and Chittoor).
*8. MALAYALA MANORAMA, *Malayalam* (Kottayam).
*9. AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, *English* (Calcutta).
*10. JUGANTAR, *Bengali* (Calcutta).
*11. FREE PRESS JOURNAL, *English* (Bombay).**
*12. ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA, *Bengali* (Calcutta).
*13. LOKA SATTA, *Marathi* (Bombay).
*14. MATHRUBHUMI, *Malayalam* (Kozhikode).
*15. HINDUSTAN TIMES, *English* (Delhi).
*16. VISHWAMITRA, *Hindi* (Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur, Patna).
*17. HINDUSTAN, *Hindi* (Delhi).
*18. ANDRAPRABHA, *Telugu* (Vijayawada and Chittoor).
*19. SAKAL, *Marathi* (Poona).
*20. MARATHA, including SANJ MARATHA (Evening), *Marathi* (Bombay and Nagpur).

WEEKLIES

*1. SUNDAY STANDARD, *English*, Sunday Paper (Bombay, Vijayawada, Madurai, Delhi and Chittoor).
*2. BHARAT JYOTI, *English*, Sunday Paper (Bombay).**
3. KUMUDAM, *Tamil* (Madras).
4. ANANDAVIKATAN, *Tamil* (Madras).
5. MALAYALA MANORAMA, *Malayalam* (Kottayam).
6. BLITZ NEWS MAGAZINE, *English* (Bombay).
7. KALKI, *Tamil* (Madras).
8. CINE CHITRA, *Hindi* (Calcutta).
9. ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA, *English* (Bombay).
10. ANDHRA SACHITRA VARA PATRIKA, *Telugu* (Madras).
11. DHARMAYUG, *Hindi* (Bombay).
12. SCREEN, *English* (Bombay).
13. MATHRUBHOOMI, *Malayalam* (Kozhikode).

OTHER PERIODICITIES

1. KALYAN, *Hindi*, Monthly (Gorakhpur).
2. DIN DUNIYA, *Urdu*, Monthly (Delhi).
3. FILMFARE, *English*, Fortnightly (Bombay).
4. READER'S DIGEST, *English*, Monthly (Bombay).
5. SHAMA, *Urdu*, Monthly (Delhi).
6. MANOHAR KAHANIYAN, *Hindi*, Monthly (Allahabad).
7. MAYA, *Hindi*, Monthly (Allahabad).
8. BETAR JAGAT, *Bengali*, Fortnightly (Calcutta).
9. CHANDAMAMA, *Hindi*, Monthly (Madras)
10. PESUM PADAM, *Tamil*, Monthly (Madras).
11. PARAG, *Hindi*, Monthly (Bombay).

II. Dailies and Periodicals with Circulation Between 20,000 *and* 50,000

DAILIES

English:

1. MAIL (Madras).
*2. HINDUSTAN STANDARD (Calcutta).
3. TRIBUNE (Ambala).
*4. DECCAN HERALD (Bangalore).
*5. INDIAN NATION (Patna).

Hindi:

*6. NAV BHARAT (Jabalpur, Bhopal, Raipur, Nagpur and Indore).
*7. ARYAVARTA (Patna).
*8. NAV PRABHAT (Indore, Bhopal, Ujjain, Gwalior and Agra).
*9. NAI DUNIYA (Indore, Jabalpur, Raipur).

Bengali:

10. BASUMATI (Calcutta).

Gujarati:

*11. GUJARAT SAMACHAR (Ahmedabad).
12. JANASATTA (Ahmedabad).
13. BOMBAY SAMACHAR (Bombay).
*14. SANDESH (Ahmedabad).
15. PRAJATANTRA (Bombay).
*16. JAI HIND (Rajkot).
*17. JANMABHOOMI (Bombay).**

Kanada:

*18. SAMYUKTA KARNATAKA (Hubli and Bangalore).
*19. PRAJA VANI (Bangalore).
20. TAINADU (Bangalore).

Malayalam:

21. DESHABHIMANI (Kozhikode).
*22. JANAYUGOM (Quilon).
23. KERALA DHWANI (Kottayam).
24. KERALA BHUSHANAM (Kottayam).
26. DEEPIKA (Kottayam).
*27. MALAYALA RAJYAM (Quilon).
28. EXPRESS (Trichur).

Marathi:

29. PRAJA MITRA (Bombay).
*30. NAVASHAKTI (Bombay).**
*31. TARUN BHARAT (Nagpur & Poona).

Tamil:

*32. SWADESAMITRAN (Madras).
*33. NAVA INDIA (Madras & Coimbatore).
*34. TAMIL NADU (Madurai & Madras).
*35. THANIARASU (Madras).
36. THINA SEITHI (Madras).

Telugu:

*37. ANDHRA PATRIKA (Madras).
38. ANDHRA JYOTI (Vijayawada).

Urdu:

*39. MILAP (Delhi, Jullundur & Hyderabad).

*40. PRATAP (New Delhi & Jullundur).

Bi-Lingual

41. KERALA KAUMUDHI (Trivandrum).

PERIODICALS:

English

1. SPORTS & PASTIME, Weekly (Madras).
2. PEOPLE'S RAJ, Weekly (Bombay).
3. EVE'S WEEKLY, Weekly (Bombay).
4. CAREERS AND COURSES, Monthly (Delhi)
5. JOURNAL OF THE INSTITUTION OF ENGINEERS, Monthly (Calcutta).
6. TAMIL NAD TIMES, Fortnightly (Madras).
7. BHAVAN'S JOURNAL, Fortnightly (Bombay).
8. FEMINA, Fortnightly (Bombay)
9. JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, Fortnightly (Calcutta).

Hindi

10. SAPTAHIK HINDUSTAN, Weelky (Delhi).
11. CHITRA BHARATI, Weekly (Calcutta).**
12. LOK RAJYA, Weekly (Bombay).
13. CHITRA BHARATI, Monthly (Calcutta).**
14. DHARTI-KE-LAL, Monthly (Delhi).
15. SUSHAMA, Monthly (Delhi).
16. JEEVAN SHIKSHA, Monthly (Varanasi).**

†17. NAI KAHANIYAN, Monthly (Delhi).

18. SARITA, Monthly (Delhi).
19. MANORAMA, Monthly (Allahabad).
20. RANG BHOOMI, Monthly (Delhi).
21. CINE CHITRA, Monthly (Calcutta).**
22. REKHA, Monthly (Nagpur).
23. FILMI DUNIYA, Monthly (Delhi).**

Assamese

24. ASSAM BANI, Weekly (Gauhati).

Bengali

25. DESH, Weekly (Calcutta).
26. SUKTARA, Monthly (Calcutta).

Gujarati

27. JANMABHOOMI PRABASI, Weekly (Bombay)
28. ZAGMAG, Weekly (Ahmedabad).
29. AKHAND ANAND, Monthly (Ahmedabad).
30. JAN KALYAN, Monthly (Ahmedabad).

Kannada

31. PRAJAMATA, Weekly (Bangalore).
32. CHANDAMAMA, Monthly (Madras).

Malayalam

33. JANAYUGAM, Weekly (Quilon).

Marathi

34. SWARAJ, Weekly (Poona).
35. LOK RAJYA, Weekly (Bombay).
36. KESARI, Tri-Weekly (Poona).
37. CHANDOBA, Monthly (Madras).
38. BALVIKAS, Fortnightly (Nagpur).
39. RATNA DEEP, Monthly (Bombay).

Tamil

40. KALKANDU, Weekly (Madras).
41. ENA-MUZHAKKAM, Weekly (Madras).
42. THIRAI GEETHAM, Weekly (Madras).**
43. ENGALNADU, Weekly (Madras).
44. THAI NADU, Weekly (Madras).
45. ANNA, Weekly (Madras).
46. CINEMA THENERAL, Weekly (Madras).**
47. GANGAI, Monthly (Madras).
48. CHIRANJEEVI, Monthly (Madras).**
49. KALAI MAGAL, Monthly (Madras).
50. PATHUMAI, Monthly (Madras).
51. AMRITHAM, Fortnightly (Madras).
52. TAMIL CINEMA, Fortnightly (Madras).
53. KALAI VANAN, Fortnightly (Madras).
54. KALAI, Monthly (Madras).
55. CINEMA KADIR, Monthly (Madras).
56. VANOLI, Fortnightly (Madras).
57. NARKARUNAI VEERAN, Monthly (Madurai).
58. GREAMANALAM, Monthly (Madras).
59. JANANAYUGOM, Monthly (Tirupapuliyur).
60. CINEMA TIMES, Fortnightly (Madras).
61. MEZHICHELVAM, Monthly (Madras).

62. KALAIGNAN, Fortnightly (Madras).
63. KANNAN, Fortnightly (Madras).
64. CAUVERY, Monthly (Kumbakonam).

Telugu

65. ANDHRA PRABHA ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY (Vijayawada).
66. CHANDAMAMA, Monthly (Madras).

SPECIAL GROUPS

There were 21 religious associations which published 91 newspapers and periodicals from one centre or more. Of these two were dailies, three weeklies, 73 monthlies and 11 quarterlies. The language-wise break-up was English 28, Hindi 10, Bengali one, Kannada one, Gujarati three, Malayalam 11, Marathi four, Tamil 15, Telugu seven, Urdu five, bi-lingual four, multi-lingual one and "Other" languages one.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Out of the 196 papers issued by the Central Government, 134 were published by different Ministries and Departments of the Government of India and 62 by semi-Government and autonomous bodies under the Central Government.

The language-wise distribution of these papers was: English 122; Hindi 32; Telugu five; Bengali four; Marathi, Tamil and Urdu three each; Gujarati, Kannada and Malayalam two each, and Oriya and Sanskrit one each. There were, in addition, 16 publications, eight of which were bilingual, one multi-lingual and seven in "Other" languages.

The periodicity-wise distribution of newspapers published by the Central Government was: dailies, three (the weather bulletin issued by the Meteorological Department, Delhi, the Daily List of Imports and the Daily List of Exports issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry from Bombay); weeklies, 16; fortnightlies, 23; monthlies, 79; quarterlies and half-yearlies, etc., 58; annuals, 17.

Of the total number of 196 papers, 122 were published from Delhi, 24 from Maharashtra, 18 from West Bengal, ten from Madras, eight from Uttar Pradesh, four from Gujarat, three each from Kerala and Madhya Pradesh and one each from Assam and Mysore.

STATE GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Out of 184 newspapers and periodicals issued by the State Governments, 66 were in Hindi, 42 in English, 13 in Gujarati, ten in Marathi, five in Bengali, four each in Oriya and Urdu; three each in Kannada and Tamil and two each in Assamese, Malayalam, Punjabi and Telugu. Of the remaining 26, 13 were bi-lingual, 10 multi-lingual and three "Other" language papers.

The number of papers issued by different State Governments was as follows: Uttar Pradesh, 44; Maharashtra, 35; Bihar, 18; Madhya Pradesh, 16; West Bengal, 13; Orissa, 10; Punjab, 9; Gujarat and Madras, eight each; Andhra Pradesh and Mysore, five each; Assam and Kerala, three each; Rajasthan and Delhi two each; and Himachal Pradesh, Tripura and Andaman and Nicobar Islands, one each.

The periodicity-wise break-up of State Government publications was: 23 weeklies, 25 fortnightlies, 100 monthlies, 33 quarterlies and half-yearlies and three annuals.

EMBASSY PUBLICATIONS

During the year under review there were 52 publications issued by the various embassies, legations and consulates, etc., of foreign countries in India. Of these 40 were periodicals and 12 were news bulletins issued mainly for the use of the Press. The Soviet Embassy published "Soviet Land" (fortnightly) in 13 languages, namely, English, Gujarati and Marathi from Bombay, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and Nepalese from Delhi and Bengali and Oriya from Calcutta. The U.S. Embassy's periodicals, the "American Labour Review" (monthly) in English and in Hindi, and the "American Review", English quarterly, continued to be published from Delhi. The "American Reporter" (fortnightly) was published in seven different languages, namely, English and Hindi from Delhi, Marathi from Bombay, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu from Madras and Bengali from Calcutta. The same Embassy started three new papers during the year, namely, "Span" and "American Embassy Newsletter" (a monthly and fortnightly respectively in English) from Delhi and "American Sandesh" (Gujarati fortnightly) from Bombay. An English monthly entitled "Mongolia Today" published by the Mongolian Embassy from Delhi was taken on the records of the Press Registrar during the year but it ceased publication during 1960.

Other periodicals of this category were: Consulate of Israel—"News from Israel" (English fortnightly), Bombay; Consulate of U.A.R.—"United Arab Republic News" (English fortnightly), Bombay; Italian Consulate—"Bi-peninsular Magazine" (English Monthly), Bombay; Swedish Trade Commission—"Swedish Trade News" (English Quarterly), Bombay; Czechoslovak Embassy—"Czechoslovakia" (English Monthly), Delhi; Canadian High Commission—"Canadian Bulletin" (English Fortnightly), Delhi; Bulgarian Legation—"News from Bulgaria" (fortnightly) in Hindi, Malayalam, Bengali and Urdu, all from Delhi; German Embassy—"Information Bulletin" (an English and a Hindi Monthly), Delhi; Turkish Embassy—"News from Turkey" (English fortnightly), Delhi.

The Soviet Embassy issued a news bulletin, "News and Views from Soviet Union" in eight languages, namely English (transferred to Bombay from Delhi during the year) and Hindi, Malayalam, Telugu, Urdu, Punjabi, Tamil from Delhi and in Bengali from Calcutta. English bulletins were issued both daily and tri-weekly. The bulletins in Punjabi and Tamil were issued bi-weekly and the rest tri-weekly. Other news bulletins were: "China Today" (Weekly) in English and Hindi, Delhi and "German News Weekly" (English), Delhi.

* Part of a group, chain or multiple.
** Circulation uncertified.

APPENDIX IV

Wages of Journalists

THE Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Wage Committee for Working Journalists regarding fixation of rates of wages for journalists, and made an order in terms of the recommendations of the Committee. The order came into operation on the dates specified by the Committee, viz. (*a*) June 1, 1958, in the case of Classes A, B and C of dailies and Class I news agencies and (*b*) the date of publication of the order of Government in the case of Classes D, E, and F of dailies, all classes of weeklies and Classes II and III of news agencies.

1. *Definitions*: In the following paragraphs and in the Schedule, the following expressions shall have the meanings assigned to them:

'Accounting year' used with reference to a particular year shall, in the case of a newspaper establishment whose accounting year is a calendar year, mean that calendar year and shall, in the case of a newspaper establishment whose accounting year is different from the calendar year, mean that accounting year of the establishment of which more than half falls in the particular calendar year.

Example: If the accounting year of a newspaper establishment starts from 1st April, reference to the accounting year 1955 in the succeeding paragraphs shall be construed as reference to the accounting year 1955-56 of such establishment. On the other hand, if the accounting year of a newspaper establishment starts from 1st October, reference to the accounting year 1955 in those paragraphs will be constructed as reference to the accounting year 1954-55 of that year.

'Category' means any of the kinds of employees mentioned under the groups set out in paragraph 23.

'Gross revenue' means, in the case of a newspaper the total of its circulation revenue (including subscription revenue) and advertisement revenue and in the case of a news agency, means the subscription revenue. In the case of a newspaper, the circulation revenue and the advertisement revenue shall be taken to be the amount of such revenue arrived at after deducting the commission actually allowed, to the extent to which the amount of the commission so allowed is reasonable.

'Group' means two or more newspapers published by a news-

papers establishment from the same centre; 'Multiple Unit' means the same newspaper published from more than one centre by a newspaper establishment; 'Chain' means more than one newspaper published by a newspaper establishment from more than one centre.

'Metropolitan Centre' or 'Metropolitan City' means the City of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi or Madras.

2. For the purpose of fixation of wages of working journalists, newspapers and news agencies should be classified in the manner hereinafter provided.

CLASSIFICATION

3. Classification of newspapers and news agencies should be based on the average revenue of the three accounting years, 1955, 1956 and 1957.

4. In the case of a newspaper or a news agency completing two out of the aforesaid three accounting years, its classification should be determined on the basis of its average revenues for those two years.

5. In the case of a newspaper or a news agency which has completed only one year of the said accounting years, its classification should be determined on the basis of its revenues for that year.

6. The classification determined in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 should continue until the newspaper or news agency is re-classified in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 21.

7. A newspaper or news agency, started during the accounting year 1957 or at any time thereafter, should be deemed to fall within the lowest class of newspapers or news agencies and should continue to remain in that class until it is re-classified according to the provisions of paragraph 21.

8. If the ownership of a newspaper or a news agency is or has been transferred by one person to another at any time after the accounting year 1954, the provisions of paragraphs 3 to 7 should apply to such a newspaper or news agency, as if the revenues of the newspaper or news agency, for the relevant accounting years, under the previous owner, were its revenues for those years under the new owner until the newspaper or news agency is reclassified in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 21.

9. Daily newspapers should, subject to the provisions of the succeeding paragraphs, be classified under the following six Classes:

(A) Rs. 50 lakhs and above; (B) Rs. 25 lakhs and above, but less

than Rs. 50 lakhs; (C) Rs. 12½ lakhs and above, but less than Rs. 25 lakhs; (D) Rs. 5 lakhs and above, but less than Rs. 12½ lakhs; (E) Rs. 2½ lakhs and above, but less than Rs. 5 lakhs; and (F) less than Rs. 2½ lakhs.

10. If the advertisement revenue of any such newspaper, not being a newspaper falling in Class F, is less than half of its circulation revenue, it should be placed in the class next below that in which it would fall on the basis of its gross revenue.

11. In the case of a multiple unit, all constituent units should be placed in the highest of the classes in which they, taken separately, would fall under the foregoing provisions, provided that no such unit should, as a result of the provisions of this paragraph, be placed more than two classes above the class in which it would fall on the basis of its own revenues in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 9 and 10.

UNITS OF A GROUP

12. In the case of a group, each of the units in the group should be classified in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 9 and 10 on the basis of its own revenue or, if it is a unit forming part of a multiple unit, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 11.

Provided that, if there is a unit or units falling under any of the Classes A, B, or C, and also a unit or units falling under any of the Classes D, E, or F, then the unit or units falling under any of the Classes A, B or C should be retained in that class and the unit or units falling in any of the Classes D, E or F should be placed in the class next above such class.

Provided further that, notwithstanding anything contained in this paragraph, if the group contains a constituent unit of a multiple unit, such constituent unit should not be placed in a class higher than that in which it would fall in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 11.

13. For the purpose of paragraph 12, all dailies including the seventh-day edition of a daily, by whatever name called, published by a newspaper establishment in the same language from the same centre should be taken together and treated as if they formed one unit and the revenues of all such papers put together should be deemed to be the revenues of such unit.

14. Where a newspaper in a chain is published from a centre from where no other newspaper in that chain is published, and

such newspaper does not form part of a multiple unit, the newspaper should, notwithstanding anything contained in paragraph 12, be classified on the basis of its own revenues in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 9 and 10.

WEEKLIES

15. Weeklies should be classified on the basis of their gross revenues as follows:

Class I Gross Revenue Rs. 12½ lakhs and above. Class II Rs. 5 lakhs and above, but less than Rs. 12½ lakhs. Class III Rs. 1 lakh and above, but less than Rs. 5 lakhs. Class IV Gross Revenue below Rs. 1 lakh.

16. A Weekly, which is substantially the seventh-day edition of a daily or a special edition of a daily by whatever name it may be called, should be deemed to be part of the daily and should be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 11, 12 and 13. All other weeklies, whether forming part of a group or chain or not, should be classified as weeklies in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 15.

BI-WEEKLIES AND TRI-WEEKLIES

17. All bi-weeklies and tri-weeklies should be classified on the basis of their gross revenue in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 15.

18. In view of the paucity of evidence in respect of periodicals which are intended to be published at longer intervals than a week, the Committee do not make any recommendation regarding salaries, scales or grades for working journalists employed in establishments publishing such periodicals.

NEWS AGENCIES

19. Except as provided in paragraph 20, news agencies should be classified on the basis of their gross revenue as follows:

Class I Gross Revenue Rs. 25 lakhs and above. Class 2 Gross Revenue Rs. 10 lakhs and above, but less than Rs. 25 lakhs. Class 3 Gross Revenue below Rs. 10 lakhs.

20. A foreign news agency, that is to say, a news agency which operates in India but whose principal office is situated outside India, should be treated as belonging to Class I of news agencies.

21. It should be open either to the employer or to the employee

to seek re-classification of a newspaper or news agency at any time after the accounting year 1960 on the basis of the average revenues of the three immediately preceding accounting years provided that such re-classification should not be sought more than once in any period of three consecutive accounting years.

CLASSIFICATION OF AREAS

22. For the purpose of payment of dearness allowance to full-time employees and monthly retainer to part-time employees, areas should be classified as follows:

Area I .. .. Metropolitan cities
Area II .. .. Towns with a population of over 5 lakhs but excluding metropolitan cities
Area III .. .. Other places

(The population figures as published in the last available All-India Census Report should be taken to be the figures for the purpose of the above classification.)

CLASSIFICATION OF WORKING JOURNALISTS

23. Working Journalists employed in newspaper establishments should be grouped as follows:

1. *Full-Time Employees*:

(*a*) *in Newspapers*:

Group

I—Editor, II—(i) Assistant Editor. (ii) Leader Writer. (iii) News Editor. (iv) Special Correspondent.

II-A—(i) Chief Sub-Editor. (ii) Chief Reporter. (iii) Principal Correspondent in a metropolitan centre accredited to a State Government. (iv) Correspondent accredited to the Central Government other than a Special Correspondent.

III—(i) Sub-Editor. (ii) Reporter. (iii) Correspondent. (iv) All working journalists other than those mentioned under any other group unless placed higher by the establishment.

IV—Proof Reader.

(*b*) *in News Agencies*:

(I) CLASS I NEWS AGENCY

Group I

General Manager or Editor.

I-A—(i) Chief News Editor. (ii) Person in charge of the Principal news bureau in a metropolitan centre.

II—(i) News Editor (Indian News). (ii) News Editor (Foreign News). (iii) News Editor (Commercial News). (iv) Special Correspondent. (v) Person in charge of the principal news bureau in a State other than in a metropolitan centre.

II-A—(i) Senior Correspondent. (ii) Chief Reporter. (iii) Chief Sub-Editor.

III. (i) Reporter. (ii) Correspondent. (iii) Sub-Editor. (iv) Person in charge of a news bureau at a centre other than those mentioned above. (v) All working journalists other than those mentioned under any other group unless placed higher by the establishment.

(II) CLASSES 2 AND 3 NEWS AGENCIES

Group

I. General Manager or Editor.

II. (i) Assistant Editor. (ii) News Editor. (iii) Special Correspondent.

II-A. (i) Senior Correspondent. (ii) Chief Reporter. (iii) Chief Sub-Editor.

III. (i) Sub-Editor. (ii) Reporter. (iii) All working journalists other than those mentioned under any other group unless placed higher by the establishment.

(For functional definitions of various categories of working journalists see Schedule).

2. *Part-time Employees*:

Part-time correspondents whose principal avocation is that of journalism.

24. It is not obligatory for a newspaper establishment to employ any or all of the categories of employees grouped above. Some of the functions may be combined.

25. The principal duties performed by an employee should determine the category of such employee; neither designation nor casual or occasional work should be taken into account for such categorisation.

Remuneration

26. Working journalists of different groups employed in different

classes of newspapers and news agencies should be paid basic pay per mensem in accordance with the following scales:

I. DAILIES

Class A: I. No Scale. II Rs. 600 —50—1,000 (8 years). II-A. Rs. 500—30—650—50—900 (10 years). III. Rs. 250—25—450—30—600 —40—800 (18 years). IV. Rs. 125—7½—155—10—225—15—300 (16 years).

Class B: I. No Scale. II. Rs. 500 —30—650—50—900 (10 years). II-A. Rs. 400—25—600—40—800 (13 years). III. Rs. 175—20—375 —25—600 (19 years). IV. Rs. 100—5—120—7½—180—10—200 —15—260 (18 years).

Class C: I. No Scale. II. Rs. 400 —20—500—25—650 (11 years). II-A. Rs. 350—20—450—25—600 (11 Years). III. Rs. 150—15—300 —20—500 (20 years). IV. Rs. 80—5—130—7½—160—10—200 (18 years).

Class D: I. No Scale. II. Rs. 200 —15—350—25—450 (14 years). II-A. Rs. 175—15—325—25—400 (13 years). III. Rs. 125—7½—200 —10—210—15—300 (17 years). IV. Rs. 75—5—125—7½—170 (16 years).

Class E: 1. No Scale. II. Rs. 150 —15—225—25—325 (9 years). II-A. Rs. 125—15—200—25—300 (9 years). III. Rs. 100—5—150 —10—200—12½—225 (17 years). IV. Rs. 70—5—140 (14 years).

Class F: I. No Scale. II. Rs. 125 —10—175—12½—200 (7 years). II-A. Rs. 100—10—180 (8 years). III. Rs. 80—5—150 (14 years). IV. Rs. 65—5—120 (11 years).

II. WEEKLIES

Class I: I. No Scale. II. Rs. 400 —20—500—25—650 (11 years). III. Rs. 150—15—300—20—500 (20 years). IV. Rs. 80—5—130—7½ —160—10—200 (18 years).

Class II: I. No Scale. II Rs. 200—15—350—25—450 (14 years). III. Rs. 125—7½—200—10—210—15—300 (17 years). IV. Rs. 75—5 —125—7½—170 (16 years).

Class III: I. No Scale. II Rs. 150—15—225—25—325 (9 years). III. Rs. 100—5—150—10—200—12½—225 (17 years). IV. Rs. 70—5 —140 (14 years).

Class IV: I. No Scale. II. Rs. 125—10—175—12½—200 (7 years).

III. Rs. 80—5—150 (14 years). IV. Rs. 65—5—120 (11 years).

III. NEWS AGENCIES

Class 1: I. No Scale. I-A. No Scale. II. Rs. 500—30—650—50—900 (10 years). II-A. Rs. 400—25—600—40—800 (13 years). III. Rs. 175—20—375—25—600 (19 years).

Class 2: I. No Scale. II. Rs. 400—20—500—25—650 (11 years). II-A. Rs. 350—20—450—25—600 (11 years). III. Rs. 150—15—300—20—500 (20 years).

Class 3: I. No Scale. II. Rs. 150—15—225—25—325 (9 years). II-A. Rs. 125—15—200—25—300 (9 years). III. Rs. 100—5—150—10—200—12½—225 (17 years).

DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

27. Dearness allowance should be paid to working journalists at the following rates:

Range of basic pay Rs.	*Area* I Rs.	*Area* II Rs.	*Area* III Rs.
65—100	50	40	30
101—200	60	50	40
201—300	70	60	50
301—400	80	70	60
401—500	90	80	70
501—750	105	95	85
751 and above	120	110	100

PART-TIME EMPLOYEES

28. Part-time correspondents should be paid a monthly retainer at the following rates:

Class of Daily	*Class of News Agency*	*Area* I Rs.	*Area* II Rs.	*Area* III Rs.
A	—	100	75	25
B	1	75	50	20

Class of Daily	*Class of News Agency*	*Area I* Rs.	*Area II* Rs.	*Area III* Rs.
C	2	50	40	15
D	—	40	30	15
E	3	25	20	10
F	—	25	15	10

For the purpose of the above table, the area applicable to a part-time correspondent should be the area in which he resides. Any further payment on a column basis should be the subject of mutual settlement.

29. In view of the paucity of evidence on the subject, the Committee recommends that the fixation of conveyance, entertainment, travelling, overseas and other allowances should be left to collective bargaining between the working journalists and the newspaper establishments concerned.

FITMENT

On Initial application of the New Scales:

30. For the purpose of paragraphs 31 to 36 and paragraph 41 "relevant date" means—in the case of classes A, B and C of dailies and class I of news agencies—1st June, 1958; and in the case of classes D, E and F of dailies, all classes of weeklies and classes 2 and 3 of news agencies: The date of publication of the order of Central Government on these recommendations under section 6(3) of the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Act, 1958.

31. For fitment of the employees into the new scales, only the service in a particular group in the particular newspaper or news agency or in a newspaper or news agency produced or conducted by the same establishment, should be taken into account. The scale into which an employee is to be fitted should be the scale prescribed in paragraph 26 of the group to which he belongs.

32. The basic pay of a working journalist should be fixed at the stage corresponding to his existing basic pay as on the relevant date or if there is no such stage in the scale, then at the next higher stage provided that if the addition to the minimum pay of the scale of a number of increments equal to one for every two completed years of service in the group to which he belongs, takes him to a

higher stage in that scale, his basic pay should be fixed at such higher stage.

Provided further that if his existing basic pay is higher by at least Rs. 50 than what he would be entitled to on a point-to-point basis in the scale in paragraph 26 applicable to him and if such existing basic pay does not coincide with a stage in that scale, he should be fitted at the next lower stage, but the existing basic pay should be protected and the difference may be absorbed in a future increment.

33. For the purpose of paragraph 32, the existing basic pay of a working journalist, as on the relevant date should be arrived at by taking the pay allowed to him by his employer on the relevant date, whether it be called basic or consolidated, adding to it the amount of dearness allowance, if any, which he may be receiving and deducting therefrom the amount of dearness allowance calculated in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 27 above which will be appropriate to the resulting basic pay.

34. For the purpose of paragraphs 32 and 33, a scale of pay or dearness allowance or location allowance enjoyed by an employee on the relevant date as a result of the implementation of the Wage Board, decision should not be taken into account and the emoluments which he would have received but for such implementation should be the basis for working out his existing basic pay for the purpose of those paragraphs.

35. When a working journalist is fitted into a scale in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 32 to 34 as on the relevant date, he should be entitled to count increments in the appropriate scales as from that date.

36. In no case should the total of the existing basic pay and dearness allowance, if any, be reduced as a result of the operation of the provisions contained in these recommendations: provided that in cases where the Wage Board decisions stand implemented on the relevant date the excess of the total of the basic pay, dearness allowance and location allowance, if any, payable on that date under that decision over the total of the basic pay fixed in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 32 and dearness allowance laid down in paragraph 27 may be absorbed in future increments.

37. If the total of the basic pay and dearness allowance, if any, payable to any group of working journalists, by an establishment in accordance with its own scheme of wages is in excess of the total

of the basic pay and dearness allowance payable to working journalists in that group under the scheme of our recommendations, year by year, the employer may maintain his own scheme of wages and dearness allowance for that group and in such case the provisions of paragraphs 30 to 36 should not apply to such group.

RE-CLASSIFICATION

38. When a newspaper or news agency is re-classified in accordance with paragraph 21, the employee should be fitted into the new scale applicable to him on his existing basic pay. When the basic pay does not coincide with a stage in the new scale, the employee should be fitted at the next higher stage when the classification goes up and at the next lower stage when the classification goes down. In the latter case, the higher existing basic pay should be protected and the difference between the existing basic pay and the pay to which he is so fitted may be absorbed in a future increment.

APPRENTICES AND PROBATIONERS

39. An apprentice is a person who is only a learner and not an employee in a newspaper establishment. The period of apprenticeship should not exceed two years.

40. A working journalist may be employed as a probationer for a period not exceeding one year during which he should get a basic pay at not less than the minimum of the scale applicable to the class of newspaper or news agency and the group in which he is a probationer and should also get the appropriate dearness allowance.

DATE OF OPERATION

41. These recommendations should be operative in respect of each newspaper and news agency as from the relevant date applicable to it in accordance with paragraph 30.

42. The total amount of arrears payable by any newspaper or news agency to its working journalists as a result of retrospective operation provided in paragraph 41 should be paid in four equal half-yearly instalments, the first instalment being payable not later than six months from the date of publication of the order of the Central Government under Section 6(3) of the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Act 1958, on these recommendations the second instalment being payable not later than 12 months from that date and so on.

Provided that if the services of any working journalist are terminated by the employer before all the instalments are paid, the balance of the instalments remaining unpaid should become due immediately on such termination.

Schedule

FUNCTIONAL DEFINITIONS OF THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES

SECTION I—NEWSPAPERS

Group—I

Editor is a person who directs and supervises the work of the editorial side of a newspaper.

Group—II

Assistant Editor is a person who assists the Editor in the discharge of his duties generally in relation to comments and opinions and writes leaders and may also write other copy involving review, comment or criticism.

Leader Writer is a person who regularly writes leaders and may also write other copy involving review, comment or criticism.

News Editor is a person who co-ordinates and supervises the news department of a newspaper and is responsible for the news content of all the editions of a newspaper.

Special Correspondent is a person whose duties regularly include reporting and interpreting all news of parliamentary, political and general importance as an accredited correspondent at the headquarters of the Central Government and where there is more than one correspondent of the newspaper establishment so accredited, the principal correspondent.

Group—IIA

Chief Sub-Editor is a person who regularly assigns and allocates work to Sub-editors supervises their work and is generally responsible for the determination of news space and the general display of news.

Chief Reporter is a person who is in charge of all reporters at a centre of publication, supervises their work and also reports on the more important news of the centre.

Group III

Sub-Editor is a person who receives. selects, shortens, summarises, elaborates, translates, edits and headlines news items of all descriptions. He may do some or all of these functions.

Reporter is a person who gathers and presents news at a particular centre.

Correspondent is a person who gathers and dispatches by wire, post or any other means, news from any centre.

Group IV

Proof Reader is a person who checks up printed matter or "proof" with edited copy to ensure strict conformity of the former with the latter. Factual discrepancies, slips of spelling, mistakes of grammar and syntax may also be discovered by him and he either corrects or gets them corrected.

SECTION II—NEWS AGENCIES

Group I

General Manager or Editor is a person who is in overall charge of a news agency.

Group I-A

Chief News Editor is a person who directs and supervises the news services of the entire agency.

Group II

News Editor is a person who is in charge of a news desk and supervises, directs and guides news service in the principal office of the news agency.

Special Correspondent is a person whose regular duties are to report all news of parliamentary, political and general importance and who is accredited to the Central Government.

Assistant Editor in a Class 2 or Class 3 news agency is a person who assists the General Manager or Editor in the discharge of his duties generally.

Group II-A

Senior Correspondent is a person whose regular duties are to report all news of parliamentary, political and general importance.

Chief Reporter is a person in a metropolitan centre who is in charge of all reporters in that centre and also reports on the more important news of the centre.

Chief Sub-Editor is a person in a metropolitan centre who regularly takes charge of a shift on the editorial desk and assigns duties and supervises the work of the sub-editors.

Group III

Reporter is a person who gathers and presents news at a particular centre.

Correspondent is a person who gathers and dispatches by wire, post or any other means, news from any centre.

Sub-Editor is a person who receives, selects, shortens, summarises, elaborates, edits and headlines news items of all descriptions. He may do some or all of those functions.

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